NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

Without Concealment----Without Compromise.

VOLUME VI.---NO. 38. NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1846. WHOLE NUMBER 298.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY,
BY THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.
At 142, Nassau Street, New-York.

Sydney Howard Gay,
Maria Weston Chapman,
Edmund Quincy,
} Editors.

☞ All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns, should be addressed to SYDNEY HOWARD GAY.

Donations to the Treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer, at Boston; or to S. H. GAY, Assistant Treasurer, at New-York.

TERMS.—$2 00 a year, in advance; $2 50 if not paid within six months.

☞ $10 00, in advance, will pay for SIX copies, for one year, sent to one address.

☞ TWENTY copies, or more, will be sent to one address, at $1 50 each.

H. M. HENRY, PRINTER.

Pro-Slavery.

The following wretched cant we copy from the (Portland) Christian Mirror:

SLAVERY AND BENEVOLENCE.—A strange junction! it may be said. True: but the two are continually brought into juxtaposition, theoretically if not practically. We cannot have a county conference meeting for mutual edification, without the introduction of Slavery in some shape or other; and, therefore, we think the Piscataquis Conference were wise in referring the lengthened discussion of their resolutions to a convention to be called for the purpose. We think all parties, who are truly religious, and feel the need of help from the prayers and counsels of their brethren, will soon be glad to give spiritual things the chief prominence in their social religious meetings. If not, their souls will, ere long, be as barren and joyless as death. Let religious conferences be kept to their original design, and not be diverted to any less important purpose.

We do not say that it is wrong, in supposable circumstances, to give up a religious meeting to purposes of humanity. If Christ did not condemn the act of lifting a dumb beast out of a pit on the Sabbath, he would not, for a stronger reason, censure us for loosing the bonds of a fellow-man, having an immortal spirit; and if this can be done by a religious meeting, even at the expense of interrupting its appropriate exercises, we have nothing to object. But what religious meeting has done this in New England? To dispute, and denounce, and censure others, is not freeing a slave. Nor would these things tend to his freedom with a tenth part of the speed of humble, faithful prayer to Almighty God.

We have mistaken the lessons of a long-continued observation, or else much and prolonged talk, without action, is the most inefficient course for accomplishing good, that can possibly be pursued. It will prove fatal to any cause. Arguments and persuasions, motives and stimulants, are worse than nothing, except as they put men upon *doing* something for the accomplishing of a good purpose. Unless action is commenced and followed out, the sooner the life of the organ ceases, the better.

We verily believe the time is not distant, when some of our brethren will wish they had found other employment, than talking to the prejudice of the Board of Foreign Missions. We pretend to no such foresight as belongs to Prof. Pond's far reaching vision; but, personally, we should much prefer to see those, who are so greatly dissatisfied with the Board, engaged in sending the Gospel to the heathen by a channel of their own rather than expending all their strength in embarrassing and throwing distrust on existing missionary operations. We verily believe, that not one individual in a hundred, on reading the whole history of the Board's relation to Slavery, would hesitate to pronounce its course in accordance with scriptural instruction and example, if their minds had not been poisoned by the objections of interested opposers, whose pride of opinion refused to yield. It is easy to make out inconsistencies and contradictions in any written documents, by bringing together detached and mangled portions from different parts.

From the New-York Express.

The Tribune enters upon a discussion with the Express, whether England has a right, sinning and sinful as she is, as it regards her own laboring population, to rebuke the slavery of the United States. We understand the Tribune not to deny that the mass of the labor of Great Britain is worse off than that of the slaveholding States, and that, as it regards the outward man, the necessaries of life, &c. the slave is equal, if not preferable, to that of the great mass of English laborers. But if the Tribune does not admit it, the fact cannot be denied, that the slave is better fed, better clad, better housed, better cared for morally, physically, religiously, and, we may perhaps add, intellectually, than the peasants, miners, and most of the factory laborers of Great Britain. The curse of Slavery is not in its physical or moral suffering,—for that does not exist to any great extent in these United States,—but, in other things, such as it would be beyond our present purpose here to name.

The question is, then, if a people such as the English are, with this huge and frightful mass of human suffering at their own doors, can step into ours, and "cast the first stone." The Tribune thinks they can, because our Declaration of Independence having said "created equal," every people have a right to rebuke the hypocrisy of that country, where that equality does not exist.

"The people of that land (says the Tribune) have a right to judge us by our own standard—a standard higher than that by which we judge them. If English laborers *are* worse off than our slaves, their condition does not, like that of the latter, stand in such frightful contrast with the political principles to which the Government is solemnly pledged."

This is pretty speechifying, but let us examine it. The Government never pledged liberty nor equality to the slave. The Constitution recognizes persons held to labor, slaves, and the courts of law have enforced, and continue to enforce, the laws that look upon slaves as property, and even to compel their surrender when escaping from servitude. The Constitution of the United States, and the Government of the United States, and the laws framed under that Government, recognize Slavery as much as the Constitution and the laws of England recognize the King or Queen, or the House of Lords. No Englishman, then, has a right to accuse us of hypocrisy, as the Tribune insinuates, or sinning, as his own countrymen are, against "the rights of man," to ha l all his declamation at us, and to reserve none for himself and his own people. This is a domestic question, we have a right to discuss among ourselves, as much as we think proper or useful,—but before foreigners rebuke us, they should cast the mote out of their own eyes,—when, if "happiness be our end and aim," we show even the slave of the United States to be happier than the subject of Europe.

But says the Tribune:—

"There is another point to be considered. The denunciations of American Slavery in Great Britain, as we have before said, come to a great extent if not principally, from that class of persons who are doing more than others to elevate the condition of the laboring masses at home, by extending to them the rights which they with us regard as inalienable. Their efforts in this behalf subject them to reproach from those who thrive on miseries the very existence of which *they* deny, as vehemently as multitudes among us deny the miseries produced by Slavery. The friends of Republicanism, not in England merely, but in every country of Europe, find their efforts in behalf of freedom, constantly baffled by our evil example, and despotism derives its most plausible apology from the shameful discrepancy between our professions and our practice."

Such men as O'Connell, the Tribune means, we presume. Now the Times' Commissioner and the Times' Reporter, both have published detailed sketches of O'Connell's own tenants, the condition of whom, we hazard nothing in saying, is not to be equalled, in poverty, misery, and squalidness, in the poorest slaveholding districts of the Southern States. But, why need O'Connell and his co-laborers confine their comparisons and contrasts of England and America to the slaveholding parts of the Union? Why don't they take New England, New-York, Pennsylvania, or the Northwest, for their specimens of Republican equality? As there are no blacks in England,—as none of the groundwork of Slavery is there,—they need speak only of the white race, whose flourishing condition in the free States of the Union is thought example enough for English subjects, and among whom the alleged discrepancy of profession and practice does not exist. The only "apology" "despotism" can find for itself in these free parts of the Union, is in the Anti-Rent and Land principles of the national reformers of the school of the Tribune,—in their silly and disorganizing community systems,—and in their insurrectionary appeals for the disorder of society,—while in the universal equality that exists,—in the general prosperity, and contentment, all despotism and all anarchists are terribly rebuked.

We do not disagree with the Tribune as to the evils, calamities, and curses of Slavery, but in our eyes, it is a momentous question,—a stupendous existence, we do not clearly see the way to approach. We dare not come to it, as the Tribune does, in the flippancy of ignorance, and the recklessness of presumption,—but as we think of it, we feel a deep sense of its awful magnitude, and we confess we shrink from it. But accursed, thrice accursed be the madmen, we say, who stept in with their abolition societies, between master and slave, in Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Virginia, and hushed there the earnest, solemn, and passionless discussions that were going on for the ultimate abolition of Slavery. But for their folly, their impertinence, their harsh and merciless accusations, we have not a doubt that before this, every black man in these States would have had the mark of freedom upon him. We speak what we *know* when we say there is an earnest, prayerful wish to be free of slaves in these States now,—but man is *man*, and of a nature not to be kicked and cuffed into reason; while the alarming incendiary publications of the abolition societies, their efforts to excite insurrection, and their cry of "man-thieves," "man-stealers," "sellers of their own flesh and blood," have overwhelmed every eloquent voice in the behalf of the colored man, and silenced all agitation of the subject, as in the stillness of the grave. Let clamor cease here, and agitation will freshen there. Remove the roar without, and the whisper will begin within. WHEN NORTHERN ABOLITION DIES, SOUTHERN ABOLITION WILL AGAIN BEGIN.

A negro named Zabriskie, one day last week, dragged a little girl into an alley in Laurens street, and attempted violence upon her person, saying that he intended "to serve all white girls so." Fortunately, she escaped. This, we suppose, is one of the "progressive improvements" of the blacks, as advocated by the Abolitionists. The rascal has been arrested, and is now in the Tombs.—*Noah's Sunday Times.*

The negroes in Boston have organized a lodge of Odd-Fellows, under a charter from England. They call themselves the "Bay State Lodge of the United Order of Odd-Fellows." As the members will vary in shade from sooty black to light mulattoes, the title would have been more appropriate if styled "The Society of Odd *Colors*."—*Ibid*

"FREE-NIGGER-DOM.—In consequence, we suppose of our articles, rebuking the wild ravings and treasonable practices of the Abolitionists, whose name in New England is legion, the small fry of newspaper dealers in that region either take a very few copies of "the Western Continent," or none at all. We beg our Southern friends to note this; we are it seems, to be badgered out of our circulation in certain *amalgamation* towns at the North, because we do not choose to adopt the feelings and habits of *Free-nigger-dom*."—(*Baltimore*) *Western Continent.*

Fashionable Amusement.—A couple of bipeds of the genus *homo*, species *darkies*, variety *whitewashers*, had a set-to *a-la-cowhide* on Tue-day last, opposite the Carlton House in Broadway. After a reasonable "walloping" on one part, and a large display of ivory and under lip on the other, honor seemed to have been fully vindicated, and the sable champions having infinitely amused some five hundred spectators, gathered up their dignity and brushes and marched off.—*New-York* (*Temperance*) *Organ.*

Selections.

THE RIGHTS OF THE FREE STATES SUBVERTED,

Or, an enumeration of some of the most prominent instances in which the Federal Constitution has been violated by our National Government, for the benefit of Slavery. By a member of Congress.

[CONCLUDED.]

Attempts to obtain Fugitive Slaves from Canada

On the 10th of May, 1828, the House of Representatives, by resolution, "requested the President to open negotiations with the British Government, in the view to obtain an arrangement, whereby fugitive slaves, who have taken refuge in Canada, may be surrendered."* The Executive had anticipated the wishes of the House, but his efforts failed, as will be seen hereafter.

The Purchase of Florida.

While Florida was owned by Spain, it afforded an asylum to the slaves who escaped from the contiguous States; for, by the law of nations, no Government is bound to surrender fugitive slaves. The bondmen of Georgia and Alabama fled into Florida, and erected the fort referred to heretofore. Without law, and without precedent, and in violation of his constitutional powers, Gen. Jackson demanded of the Governor of Pensacola, "*the destruction of the fort, and return of the negroes.*"† He further stated, that unless this were done by the Spanish authorities, the troops of the United States would do it. After the fort was destroyed, the negroes collected together in considerable force upon the Suwanee river, and were in greater or less numbers scattered throughout various portions of Florida. They were found at Barancas, St. Mark's, and Pensacola. Gen. Jackson, in his memorial to the Senate, speaking of those posts, declared, that "*they had become the rendezvous for embodying hostile negroes and Indians,* and for giving them comfort and protection."—"These posts (said he) had been alternately substituted for the fort on the Apalachicola, (the fort blown up,) and thither the negroes and Indians retreated for shelter after their defeat at Mickasuky." In his letter to the Secretary of War, dated November 28, 1818, Gen. Jackson says: "The situation of Florida, in relation to our country, is peculiar, and demands the early attention of our Government—her territory will always prove an asylum to the disaffected and restless savage, as well as to *a more dangerous population, unless some energetic government can be established to control and exclude these interlopers.*" Indeed, every reader must see, that while Florida belonged to any foreign power, the slaves of the South would flee to it for protection. The purchase of Florida had become necessary to the slaveholding interest. The purchase was therefore made, and five millions of dollars, taken from the people, and paid over for the support of Slavery. Let no one say that we obtained lands in return for our money. Gen. Jesup has informed us, that "*those lands would not pay the medicines used by our troops while removing the Indians.*" Indeed, for years those lands have been offered gratis to those who would settle upon them; but as yet *we have been unable to give them away.* Neither let it be said that we have received the revenue in return for our money. The government of the Territory has cost us, probably, twenty times the amount of revenue received. The truth is, the slave interest demanded the purchase, and it was made.*

Suppression of the Right of Petition.

On the 26th of May, 1836, the House of Representatives adopted a resolution, which excluded from being read or considered, "*all petitions, memorials, resolutions, and propositions relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to the subject of Slavery.*"† Thus, while the institution of Slavery, and the slave trade in the District of Columbia and in the Territory of Florida, were upheld and maintained by acts of Congress, the people were prohibited from asking a repeal of those laws! This resolution ceased to have any effect at the adjournment of Congress.

On the 18th of December, 1837, a member from Vermont presented to the House a petition, signed by some six hundred inhabitants of that State, praying the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. On the 20th it came up for consideration, when the member presenting it, (Hon. Mr. Slade,) moved to refer it, with instructions, to the Committee on the District of Columbia, directing them to report a bill for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in said District, and addressed the House for the purpose of assigning his reasons for such instructions. Much confusion ensued; a portion of the Southern members withdrew from the Hall, threatening an immediate dissolution of the Union. Others called Mr. Slade to order; and finally the Speaker declared him out of order, and immediately the House adjourned.‡ It was said that the Southern members held a meeting that night, and agreed upon a resolution similar to that adopted in 1836.§ The next morning a slaveholding member from Virginia presented the resolution, which was adopted by a vote of 135 to 60.‖ The vote was taken by ayes and noes, and when the clerk called the name of "John Quincy Adams," that venerable statesman arose and said, "*I hold the resolution to be a violation of the Constitution of the United States; of the right of my constituents and of the people of the United States to petition, and of my right to freedom of speech as a member of this House.*"¶

At the session of 1838-'9 the House was not fully organized until the 9th December. On the evening of the 10th a meeting was said to have been held by the Democratic party of both free and slave States, at which resolutions were agreed upon, declaring that Congress had no *constitutional power* to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia, and excluding all petitions upon the subject of Slavery from being read or referred by the House. The resolutions were said to have been drawn up by a distinguished statesman of the South, but the infamy of presenting them was awarded to a Northern man. They were accordingly presented on the morning of the 11th of December, and adopted by a vote of 137 to 66.**

At the commencement of the next Congress the substance of these resolutions were adopted in the form of a *rule of the House*, and continued to be the law of that body until the 2d session of the 28th Congress, when they were discarded, and the right of petition was regained after a struggle of nine years. An attempt to renew the rule was made on the first day of the 1st session 29th Congress, but it failed by a vote of 84 to 121.

Suppression of the Freedom of Speech.

Most of the members of the House regarded the freedom of speech suppressed to the same extent as was the right of petition. Such was the construction given to the rule by the Speaker, that he usually declared every member out of order who spoke disrespectfully of Slavery, even when that subject came collaterally under consideration. But while Northern members were thus compelled to keep silence in regard to the "*peculiar institution*," and their constituents were taxed for its support, Southern members were permitted to assail, in such terms as they pleased, those who manifested any degree of restlessness under the unequal privileges enjoyed by members from the different sections of the Union. But while Northern members were thus compelled to hold a place somewhere between the supercilious overseer and the trembling slave, they were often called to vote for the support of an institution which they held in perfect abhorrence. In January, 1842, while this rule, denying to the people the right of petition in relation to Slavery, was in force, Mr. Adams presented the petition of some forty inhabitants of Haverhill, Massachusetts, praying that a peaceable dissolution of the Union might take place. He moved its reference to a select committee, with instructions to report against the prayer of the petition, and to assign the reasons for so doing. But a slaveholding member, regarding the liberty of thus presenting the petitions of Northern men as dangerous to the slave power, immediately offered a resolution to censure Mr. Adams for this exercise of his constitutional right and solemn duty. Several days were spent in the trial, when the slaveholders, finding themselves unable to carry the resolution without discussion, it was laid upon the table, where it slept the sleep of death.

The President having communicated to the Senate the instructions forwarded to our Minister in England, directing him to use his efforts to obtain from that Government a compensation for the slaves who had taken possession of the slave ship Creole, and the Senate having gravely referred the subject to a committee of that body for consideration, a member from Ohio offered a series of resolutions, denying the power of the Federal Government to involve the people of the free States in the support of the Slave-Trade. For thus presuming to assert the constitutional rights of the people of the free States, he was at once arraigned before the body of which he was a member, and without being permitted to speak in his own defence, a resolution of censure was passed upon him, and he was driven from his seat in Congress.†† This act of unprecedented tyranny aroused a portion of the Northern press, and the constitutional rights of the people were declared in such tones of firm determination, that no attempts were subsequently made to silence those who spoke of Slavery, while they kept within parliamentary rules.

Extension of Slavery by the Federal Government

By the terms of the Federal Constitution, slaves are included in the federal ratio of representation, counting five slaves equal to three freemen. This provision of the Constitution is strongly opposed to Northern interests and Northern honor. But to show that the framers of that instrument had no expectation that this most obnoxious feature was to be extended, and Northern men further degraded by it, I will only refer the reader to the ordinance of 1787, by which a perpetual covenant between the people of the Northwest Territory and the Federal Government was entered into, forever to exclude Slavery from said territory. This comprised all of the territory then claimed by the United States, and this ordinance was adopted some two months prior to the formation of the Constitution, and while the convention that framed it were in session. The subsequent purchase of Louisiana was declared by Mr. Jefferson to be entirely without constitutional authority. But the admission of Louisiana, Missouri, and Arkansas, as slave States, thus giving to the holders of slaves in those States a political influence in the Federal Government over the freemen of the North, in proportion to the number of their slaves, was a most fatal blow to the Constitution, and to the rights, the interests, and the honor of the free States. To their admission the people of the free States submitted, and the precedent thus established has been seized upon by the slaveholding power to justify another outrage upon this charter of our rights, which, in the minds of reflecting men, leaves little hope for the permanency of our Federal Union.

When the annexation of Texas was first agitated, all parties concurred in rejecting the proposal as *unconstitutional*. The Federal Executive declared that the power to unite this nation with a foreign Government was unknown to our Constitution. In the early discussions in both houses of Congress, the proposed annexation was attempted to be justified solely upon the ground of its being *necessary to the prosperity of the slave interest.* But the advocates finally seized upon the purchase of Louisiana and its subsequent admission, as a precedent; and Texas is even now claimed as a part of the United States, and the work of annexation will doubtless be consummated during the present session of Congress. Then will the people of the free States be degraded to the political level of foreign slaves. We shall then reach a point at which our love of liberty, our feelings of independence, and our sense of honor, will be tested. Quiet submission will be disgrace to ourselves, destruction to our rights, and subversion to the Constitution.

Admission of Florida as a slave State.

Having paid five millions of dollars for the purchase of Florida, and forty millions to catch the fugitive slaves, and some millions to maintain a civil government there, it was deemed necessary, in order to secure the ascendancy of the slave power, to admit Florida into the Union as a State, "with all her sins upon her," giving to her a political influence in the Federal Government in proportion to the number of slaves she holds, counting five slaves equal to three Northern freemen. This was done by act of Congress, passed at the 2d session of the 28th Congress, allowing but two hours for its discussion,* one of which was occupied by a slaveholding friend of the Union, in an endeavor to convince gentlemen of the free States of the relative worth of Northern freemen when compared with Southern slaveholders.

Attempts of the Executive to sustain the American Slave-Trade.

It is now generally understood that Slavery, being an abridgement of natural right, can only exist by force of *positive municipal law*, and is therefore confined strictly to the jurisdiction creating it. Thus Slavery exists in Virginia by force of the laws of that State. While within that State a master may shoot his slave, if he runs from him; but were he to do that in Ohio, he would be hanged for the murder, for the reason that the laws of Virginia cannot extend into Ohio. Yet, a trade in slaves between the Northern slave States and those lying further south, and also with Texas, has been carried on by sea for many years; still, in point of law, every slave thus taken from the jurisdiction of the slave State, is free the moment he leaves the bounds of such State and enters upon the high seas.

In 1831, "The Comet," a slave ship from Alexandria, for New Orleans, was wrecked on the Island of Abacco, and her slaves and crew were taken to Nassau, in the Island of New Providence. The island being under British laws, the slaves were of course free as soon as they landed on British territory. They had been free under our laws, from the moment they were a league from our coast. Thus the reader will see that by the laws of both nations they were *freemen.* But the slave merchants, finding themselves unable to control the movements of their human cargo, called upon the authorities of the island for assistance, to aid them in holding their fellow-men in subjection. But, there being no *law* there, by which one foreigner could control the liberty of another, all aid was refused, and the slave-mongers returned to the United States, and claimed the assistance of the National Government to aid them in carrying out their attempted speculation in human flesh, by demanding of the British Government a compensation for their loss.

In 1833, the brig "Encomium," from Charleston, for New Orleans, with slaves, was wrecked near Abacco, and her slaves obtained their liberty in the same way.

In 1835, "The Enterprise," another slave ship was driven into Bermuda, a British port, by stress of weather, and her slaves were also liberated by force of British laws.

These repeated losses alarmed the slave merchants, and threatened seriously to affect the prospects of those who were engaged in breeding slaves for market. The Executive entered upon the subject with great zeal and energy. Instructions were sent to our Minister at London, directing him to make demand of the British Government for reparation to the slave merchants who owned these cargoes of human beings. Not because the British Government, or any subject of the British Crown had gained anything in consequence of these persons having obtained their freedom; but because the slave-dealers had sustained a loss, in consequence of the English Government not having enacted laws authorizing the American Slave-Trade. He was informed that this feature of the British laws "*was too dangerous to a large section of our country to be tolerated.*" The demand was made, and as our Minister was himself an extensive slaveholder, he entered upon the subject with so much zeal, that his assertions were soon carried *far beyond the bounds of truth.* In an official communication to Lord Palmerston, he declared that our "*Government had more than once, in the most solemn manner, determined that slaves killed in the service of the United States, even in a state of war, were to be regarded as property, and not as persons, and the Government held responsible for them.*" By means of the most unceasing energy, and misrepresentations on the part of our Minister, the British Government were induced to pay over to our Executive the sum of £25,000 sterling, for the benefit of those who claimed to own the persons on board "the Comet" and "the Encomium." These vessels were wrecked, and the persons on board obtained their liberty prior to the taking effect of the general emancipation act, which liberated the slaves in the British West India Islands. But the "Enterprise" had entered Bermuda after the taking effect of that law, and the British Ministers refused all compensation to the slave-owners on board that ship. Partial success, however, stimulated the Executive to a more vigorous prosecution of the claims of the unfortunate slave-dealers who owned the cargo of "the Enterprise." Fresh instructions were sent to our Minister at London; and to aid the Executive with the influence of the Senate, resolutions declaring the law of nations to authorize a slave-ship when driven by stress of weather to enter the port of a friendly power, and to hold control of the slaves on board until she can refit, were introduced into the Senate by the Hon. J. C. Calhoun; and although their fallacy was apparent to every county court lawyer, yet they were adopted by the Senate without a dissenting voice. Most of the Senators from free States, however, refused to vote.† To aid the Executive still further, the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the House of Representatives made a report, in which this subject was mentioned, and an allusion was made to the unpleasant consequences which would follow a final rejection of the demand by Great Britain.‡

While this was the state of the diplomatic correspondence between the two Governments, the "Hermosa," another slave-ship, was wrecked, and her slaves obtained their freedom in the same manner as those on board the other ships. In October, 1842, soon after the wreck of the Hermosa, the Creole left Richmond, Virginia, for New Orleans, with slaves on board. While at sea, the slaves rose upon the crew, killed one of them, and took the ship to Nassau, and, leaving her to the control of her captain, they went on shore in pursuit of their own happiness. These circumstances appear to have aroused the whole slaveholding interest. Instructions were again transmitted to our Minister at London, and he was exhorted to press the demand upon the British Government for compensation for the slaves on board those ships. The Senate called for the correspondence, discussion ensued, in which grave Senators threatened destruction to those islands if compensation were not granted to the slave merchants who had thus lost their cargoes of slaves. At this time a member of the House of Representatives introduced resolutions denying the constitutional power of the Federal Government to involve the people of the free States in the support of the Slave-Trade. As heretofore stated, the member was censured, and driven from Congress, for thus presuming to assert the doctrines of the Constitution; but the subject was instantly laid aside, and no more discussions were had in regard to the Slave-Trade. Whether the Executive continued to press the demand upon Great Britain, is unknown to the public. If, however, there was any further correspondence in regard to the loss of those slaves, it yet remains concealed in the Executive portfolio.

* In 1839 we paid to custom-house officers at St. Augustine and at St. John's, in Florida, two thousand six hundred and fifty dollars for collecting *nothing.* † Vide Journal of 26th May, 1836. ‡ Vide Journal of 1837 125. § Various newspaper accounts. ‖ Vide Journal, 127, 128, 129. ¶ Vide Journal, 133. ** Vide Journal of 3d session 26th Congress, p. 51, 52. †† Vide Journal of the House of Representatives of 22d March, 1842.

Note.—Nine days after the adoption of these resolutions a coffle of thirty slaves chained together, and followed by about the same number of females, who were permitted to travel unchained, were driven past the Capitol, on their way to a southern market.

* Vide Journal of that date. † 12 American State Papers, 750.

* Vide 2d session 28th Congress. † Vide Journal of the Senate, 1st session 26th Congress. ‡ Vide Journal House of Representatives, 2d session 26th Congress.

PROTEST OF THE UNIVERSALIST CLERGY.

Below we publish the Protest of the Universalist clergy against American Slavery, with the circular sent to each of the ministers. It was not intended, we understand, to make it public until replies to the Circular had been received from all the clergymen of the denomination, but as extracts had been given from it in various papers, it was thought best that it should be published entire, though somewhat prematurely. We copy it from the (Boston and Providence) Christian Freeman.

CIRCULAR.

BOSTON, Nov. 3, 1845.

Dear Brother:—At a mass meeting of the Universalists, held the day after the Session of the General Convention in September last, the following resolution was passed; and agreeably to its instructions, the document hereby forwarded to you has been prepared, and is most respectfully and affectionately presented for your consideration;—

"Resolved, That a Committee of five be appointed to prepare a solemn, earnest, and plain Protest against American Slavery, and when prepared, to present it to every Universalist clergyman in the United States for his signature, respectfully requesting those who are not willing to sign it, to give a reason for refusing; and when it has been fully circulated, and they have waited a reasonable time for answers, they shall publish the Protest and signatures, with the reasons offered by those who do not sign it."

We trust you will give early attention to this matter, and return an answer so that it may be received early in January next.

Affectionately and truly yours,

HENRY BACON,
SEBASTIAN STREETER,
SYLVANUS COBB,
LUCIUS R. PAIGE,
EDWIN H. CHAPIN.

PROTEST.

It is not from an idle curiosity, but from a deep interest in the signs and promises of better days, that we desire to know how stands the ministry of the Universalist Church in reference to the great question of American Slavery. The measure hereby adopted, is one that promises such a result, as the request is preferred to every minister of the Universalist denomination in the United States, with brotherly affection and true respect. We wish, moreover, to know, from whom we can expect hearty fellowship and co-operation in our prayers, our pleas, and our labors to advance the cause of human freedom, and to whom we may look for sympathy in our abhorrence and detestation of that system which destroys, as far as man has power to destroy, the grand distinction between man and brutes, and which holds in perpetual bondage two and a half millions of our fellow-creatures. We believe that by presenting a united front, we can add something to the moral power that in creating a deep horror at the monstrous wrongs of Slavery, and that shall gather strength and greatness till human nature cannot withstand the majesty of the demand to "let the oppressed go free," but shall glorify God by loyalty to right and duty. With this desire, hope, and trust, we offer our Protest against American Slavery, in the following reasons:

1. Because it denies the eternal distinction between a man and property, ranking a human being with a material thing. The attributes of the soul forbid such a classification; for that alone can be recognized as property which is not wronged by the act of being owned by another. To man was originally given dominion over the lower orders of animals that he might have them as property, but he has no right nor grant to own his fellow-being.

2. Because Slavery does not award to the laborer the fruits of his toil, in any higher sense than to the cattle. All the claim, to any property—even to the fruits of the tillage of the smallest plat of ground—depends on the will of him who claims by the same tenure, both the soil and the laborer. Man was created to own, and not to be owned; the claim of another upon the fruits of his toil as upon the product of the service of a mere animal, overlooks the higher nature and the absolute rights of a human being.

3. Because Slavery trammels the intellectual powers and prevents their expansion. The expansibility of the human mind is one of its chief glories, and endless means are appropriated to it by its Creator. To labor systematically to dwarf the intellect, is to prevent the opening, to a full vision, of the eye that God made, wherewith man should see him in the manifestations of himself through his laws. This, Slavery does. It denies to the slave even the alphabet of knowledge, the simplest elements of intellectual progress. The very enactment of laws which forbid, under heavy penalties, any one to teach the slave to read and write, implies all that we claim for his intellectual capacity, and manifestly declares that the maintenance of the system depends upon dwarfing the intellect.

4. Because Slavery checks the development of the moral nature of the slave. It denies him rights, and thereby denies him responsibility. With the denial of his manhood, necessarily goes his accountability; for where the distinction between persons and things is lost, the duties and responsibilities of the person are merged and lost in the thing. The slave is, to all intents and purposes of property, deprived of his moral nature, and thereby of his participation in a common humanity.

5. Because Slavery involves a practical denial of the religious nature of the slave. The supreme will, to the slave, is the will of the master; and that which dwarfs the intellect, and checks the development of the moral nature, must be opposed to religious growth. It takes from the victim the means which God has furnished to beget and foster a true and filial reverence towards Himself, and gives him no religion but credulity. It shuts up the Bible from the slave as effectually as ever Popery did from the people in the dark days of its most terrific power.

6. Because Slavery presents an insurmountable barrier to the promulgation of the great truth of universal brotherhood, and thereby most effectually prevents the progress of true Christianity. Under its broad shadow, Universalism cannot grow. The seed is at best, sown among thorns that choke its vegetation. Under the legitimate influences of such a system, the soul cannot regard with favor the religion which has the same voice and tone, the same commands and warnings, the same hopes and promises, for him who is regarded as a thing and classed with cattle, as for the most elevated and gifted of the human race. And inasmuch as Slavery denies the equality that exists, by the attributes of human nature, between man and man, it cannot but frown on the religion of Christ, which is based on that equality, and whose great and fundamental principle of morality is,—"Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you."

7. Because the essential nature of Slavery cannot be altered by any kindness, how great soever, practised toward the slave. Kindnesses are but flowers in the links of the chain whose iron eats into the soul, and no sweetness can lull the moral sense into forgetfulness of what Slavery is. The highest kindness is comparatively nothing, while the manhood of the slave is denied or forgotten; for the first demand of love is, to respect the rights of another. While many slaveholders may, according to their conception of things, practise the utmost kindness to their slaves, that cannot alter one feature of deformity in the system of Slavery.

8. Because the long continuance of a system o wrong cannot palliate it, but on the other hand augments the demand for its abolition. New victims are ushered into existence, every day, while the natural affections and the sanctities of marriage and domestic life are disregarded and made subordinate to the interests of property.

9. Because, while we would in all charity remember that peculiarities of situation may affect the judgment and moral sense, still we must not forget, that no peculiarity of situation can excuse a perpetual denial of universal principles and obligations. Freedom is not the gift of charters and communities; it is not a benefit bestowed by geographical localities, but it is inherent in man as man, by the attributes of his nature. Our religion demands of us, with a voice that cannot be silenced, that no limit of territory shall be permitted to exclude man from our sympathy, and no conventional laws shall supercede the eternal requisitions of justice and mercy.

American Slavery is a system of wrongs, from its first principle to its crowning assumption; and in its train of evils are found all the iniquities that have eaten out the life of communities and nations. It legalizes sins that are abhorrent to the simplest moral sense, and in the increasing intelligence and philanthropy of the present age, it becomes more and more a stigma on our national name, a curse to our country's prosperity, and a giant moral evil that must be overthrown, or it will overthrow us by the retributive justice of Him who has declared the truth,—"Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."

For these reasons we protest against the system of American Slavery as utterly wrong, and confess our obligation to use all justifiable means to promote its abolition.

From the New-York Tribune.

The *Express* makes a characteristic reply to our article in Thursday's Tribune, on British Oppression and American Slavery. Our argument in extenuation of the rebukes administered to this country by foreigners founded on the inconsistency between the nation's professions and practices, it meets by a denial of the existence of such inconsistency. "The Government," we are told, "never pledged liberty nor equality to the slave." Indeed! Then all the lamentations of Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and the other fathers of the Republic, over Slavery as irreconcilable with the principles to which they pledged "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor," was all a mistake! There is no discrepancy between the doctrine that "all men are created equal" and the practice of holding men in slavery! The slaves are "niggers," and no part of "*all* men." O most astute and profound casuist! "A Daniel come to judgment—yea, a Daniel!"—What a pity that the Express had not reared its wise head above the political horizon at an earlier day, to save JOHN JAY the mortification of writing those memorable words in his letter to an English abolition society—"It undoubtedly is very inconsistent with the declarations of the people of the United States on the subject of human rights to permit a single slave to be found within their jurisdiction. *And we confess the justice of your strictures on that head.*" If the light which radiates so brilliantly from the Express could only have fallen upon his darkened mind, he might have answered the impertinent Englishmen most triumphantly by a little bold swagger about British paupers and all that!

—The Express has made one discovery for which we must tender it our hearty congratulations. It tells us that "man is *man*, and of a nature not to be kicked and cuffed into reason." This is well spoken; but when we look at the practice of the Express in the light of this principle we are sorely perplexed. The contrast is almost as striking to our dull apprehension as that between the Declaration of Independence and Slavery. Perhaps, however, the principle which the Express lays down with such a flourish of oracular wisdom, like the doctrine that "*all* men are created equal," has its limitations; and as "niggers" may be enslaved without violating the latter, so Anti-Renters, National Reformers, "Fourierites," and Abolitionists, not being men, *are* "of a nature to be kicked and cuffed into reason." Our neighbor, after all, we fear, thinks the slaveholders are the only men whom it is wrong to abuse, for in the very article now under notice it heaps upon men as conscientious if not as wise as itself the most opprobrious epithets, calling them "accursed, thrice accursed madmen," and charging them with acts abhorrent to their souls. We are neither the apologist nor the defender of any of the unwise extravagances of the Abolitionists, the National Reformers, or the Anti-Renters; but we believe that even they are *men*, "and of a nature not to be kicked and cuffed into reason." If a slaveholder cannot be converted from the error of his way, by calling him a "man-stealer," neither can an Anti-Renter by calling him an "insurrectionist," nor a National Reformer by branding him as a "disorganizer" and a "fanatic," nor an Abolitionist by calling him a "madman."

—The *Express* says:

"We do not disagree with the Tribune as to the evils, calamities and curses of Slavery, but in our eyes it is a momentous question—a stupendous existence we do not clearly see the way to approach. We dare not come to it as the Tribune does, in the flippancy of ignorance and the recklessness of presumption—but as we think of it we feel a deep sense of its awful magnitude, and we confess we shrink from it."

Of the spirit and tone in which the Tribune discusses the slave question let its readers and the public judge. They can also judge whether the Express is better entitled from its character and manners to rebuke us on this score than is an Englishman to assail this country for its Slavery. If the Express would convince us that it is serious as it pretends to be in view of the magnitude of the question, let it cease its practice of snarling at every body who differs from it in opinion.

From the Anti-Slavery Bugle.

SPUNGERS.

To be true to the bleeding slave embraces many, many things and vastly important responsibilities.—But can it be true that we are required to "Remember those in bonds as bound with them?" Will not the act of our assenting to the truth of reform doctrine entitle us to the privilege of getting our living by visiting it out of those who are either more *able* or more *willing* to work with their hands than we feel ourselves to be? Are not *we, reformers*, justifiable in making frequent friendly calls, and staying for days or even weeks with those families who appear to have plenty about them, rather than be compelled to engage in the irksome task of providing for ourselves at the expense of the "sweat of our brow?" These are important questions to settle.

It occurs to me, just at this moment, that if I have anything of importance to say, I had better leave off this "hinting," and speak it out (like a "man" would, if one should happen to come along.) Perhaps most of us acknowledge that the proper mode of correcting common errors or evils is to talk about them, agitate the subject before the people concerned, and hence I hope I shall not be thought either cruel or vindictive for speaking of the fact, that the cause of Anti-Slavery, and of reform in general, has sustained serious loss from a class of *nominal reformers*, who incline to prolong their day of "visitation" at the houses of the *practical* and *industrious*; occasionally tarrying for *days* and sometimes *weeks* together where their company is not really felt (by the persons upon whom the burden of the toil falls) to be any very desirable acquisition. The equilibrium between the activity of their *tongues* and their hands being unequal, they talk much of *reform*, not neglecting to allude frequently to their own "poor health," yet, when the air is chilly, some of them are not slow hands to bring in wood, provided, how ever, some other person has cut and prepared it for the fire. And, though moderate health, the appetite is mostly "tolerable," (and, in some instances, perhaps, we might prefix "*in*" to the word,) and the desire for intellectual improvement is sometimes so strongly developed as to incline them to sit down to read the "last paper," upon rising in the morning, rather than to sweep the room, or even make he bed from which they have just arisen.

Some of these persons talk much about "the true life," "the laws of their being," &c. and speak vehemently against "violating the laws of health by overwork," when, at the same time, by a kind of nondescript course, partaking, apparently, of a combination or mixture of ignorance, impudence, and infolence, they are overtaxing those upon whom they quarter themselves, and forcing such to violate the

laws of life and health by ministering to their wants during these protracted visits. I have had it in my mind for months to write this kind of an *Anti-Slavery article*, from a sense of duty both to oppressors and oppressed. I have shrunk from the task, because I was conscious that I should hit so many cases, so exactly as to seem to be entirely personal in my remarks, for this kind of friendly *loafersizing* has been so common, both East and West, as to almost become like other slaveholding, so popular as to make many shrink from attacking it. I must, however, be permitted to offer this much apology to any to whom these remarks may seem to have a personal allusion. I do entreat such, if any of the above remarks appear to be appropriate to any conduct of yours, that you will consider them as much addressed to you as though you had been named in person, and, instead of reflecting on me for writing as I have, rather reflect upon yourselves for having conducted so as to be within reach of such remarks. I hope that from this present hour, you may, each and all, firmly resolve that, wherever you go in future, you will at least *deserve* a welcome, whether you receive it or not.

VALENTINE NICHOLSON.

P. S. Friends, Benjamin and Elizabeth: I know not how you may view this article, but I hope you will publish it, (or something like it,) especially when I assure you that there are cases, within my certain knowledge, of individuals leaving our ranks with disgust, on account of the swarming multitudes who seemed to think the *cause* ought to support *them*, instead of their supporting the cause.

V. N.

From the Worcester County Gazette.

TOUSSAINT L'OVERTURE.

The Rev. Mr. Weiss, of Watertown, delivered a lecture last Thursday evening, week, before the Worcester Lyceum, on the life and character of Toussaint L'Overture. We have seldom listened to a lecture, on a similar occasion, with more pleasure or profit. Our pleasure was a mixed emotion, arising from a contemplation of the intrinsic worth of the character, from the ability and fidelity with which it was treated, and from joy that such facts were brought before such an audience.

There are those among us who believe, or pretend to believe, that the African is of an inferior order of beings. How any one, with the life of this African hero before him,—with a knowledge of the fact that the arts and sciences first flourished in Africa,—that among the early Christian fathers some of the most distinguished, both for learning and piety, were full blooded Africans, can doubt their natural, mental, and moral equality with the "pale faces, it is difficult for us to conceive."

We were glad, we say, to see present those who are wont to curl the lip in scorn whenever mention is made of the claims of the black man. The following anecdote happily illustrates the absurdity of those who deny the equality of the African.

In one of the river towns, in Franklin county, a female was employed in teaching a district school, who had not been infected with colorphobia; nor had she learnt to construct a scale or privileges from the color of the skin, any more than from that of the hair, but verily believed that of one blood God had made all nations. Among her pupils was a small lad, guilty of a skin not colored like the rest. He was the son of a widow, and she a very industrious, intelligent, and worthy woman. In proof of it she spared no pains in giving her son a good education, and prided herself in his punctuality, in his uniform neatness and tidiness of dress, and in his correctness of deportment. His schoolmates, not having been "schooled" long enough to *scent* out his inferiority, treated him as one of their own species, and admitted him, without reserve, to their sports. The teacher, too, made no distinction; but let him set and stand with the other children, just as though he were a human being, and had no infectious or contagious disease about him.

The clergyman of the place, a professed follower of Him who said, "the poor have the Gospel preached unto them," and condescended to wash the feet of his own disciples,—this successor to the lowly fisherman of Galilee, made public proclamation that his child should not set upon the same seat with a "nigger." To make good his words he employed a carpenter to prepare a seat for his child which he sent to the school with directions to the teacher to reserve it for his daughter.

At the close of the term the colored woman was employed to clean the schoolhouse; which, after having done, she took the new seat and carried it to the door of his reverence, saying to him, that she had brought home his child's seat. "But why do you bring it here?" said he, "my child has no need of it except in school." "Do you not expect your daughter will go to heaven?" inquired the woman. "Certainly, I hope so," was the reply. "Take the chair, then, for there will probably be 'niggers' there."

From the True American.

OURSELVES.

We promised last week to reply further to the remarks of the National Intelligencer's New-York correspondent, "A Calm Observer." That promise, we proceed to redeem, and we hope we will be able to do so, so far as regards what is personal, without being charged with vanity. Indeed, we are past that point where we can be elated by flattery or depressed by abuse. The stern rebuffs and hard trials of life have taught us the folly of heeding either, and we endeavor, at least, to guage our own, and others' conduct, by the probable effect it will have upon the progress of human freedom.

We are called by "A Calm Observer," "an unmitigated zealot on the subject of Slavery," even while he compliments us "as a chivalric gentleman of fine talents, and a sound Whig of pure principles," and as other honest men, from a variety of causes, entertain the same opinion, we shall notice this charge. And we say, that those who so consider us, mistake us entirely. The words, as used, have no application to us whatever. Physically and constitutionally, we have not the elements necessary to constitute a zealot, in the bad sense of that word, and education and habit have confirmed in us those qualities of mind and heart, which render it impossible for us to become such. Earnestness, enthusiasm, and will, we may, to some extent, possess—a burning hatred of oppression, we know, we feel—but even these characteristics we hold, we hope, in subjection to judgment, and the calmest reason.

The idea of our being rash and headlong—a zealot—arises, in part, from the reflective influence of slaveholders, and the belief, to some extent, in the free States, that a "*mild course*" with them would have been the best. That slaveholders should say this, and seize hold of anything to prove it, is all a matter of course. They stop at nothing where Slavery is concerned. When has any poor white man been lynched by them, or their instruments, that the plea of necessity *above* the law has not been set up? When has life been taken for a violation of the rights of masters, that they did not say, it was to save their lives, and the lives of their families? Once admit their pretexts and pretences, and an excuse will never be wanting, on their part, to palliate crime, and protect the criminal. Still, that many just men, in the free States should hold this opinion, is quite natural, especially if they have been regardless of the *violent action* of slaveholders, whenever any man has ventured to assail Slavery in earnest. Nay, more, they might be strongly confirmed in this opinion. For our gentlemen, in private, talk freely and liberally on the subject of Slavery, and admit, and seem to feel its evils, so that the citizen of New-York or Massachusetts, on hearing them, would say, "all one has to do with these individuals, is to argue, and plead with them mildly, to secure emancipation." But no conclusion could be more erroneous. "It would be wholly wrong. JOHN GREEN, one of the mildest, purest, and best of our citizens, was right when he said, in 1836:

"It is but natural that a stranger in passing through our State, should take up such impressions, from the liberal tone with which our politicians and other intelligent men speak on the subject so long as they are permitted to deal in *generals*, and to qualify their remarks by the important word IF. But if you call upon them to propose some *plan* and to commence *action*, they will almost *universally* draw back. I think I know something of our public men, and I tell you they are for DOING NOTHING."

Aye, for doing nothing! This was the determination of slaveholders in 1845 as in 1836,—a determination, as settled and fixed as ever were any of the purposes of man. And no mild course would have changed it. No soft words or honest pleas, kindly urged, would have answered. No array of statistics, or solid logic, could have moved the master, or quickened the public mind. The battle to be waged required sterner stuff, and the very *first* step to be taken, either to command the respect or attention of slave-owners, or to awaken a general agitation and discussion of the question of emancipation, was, to brave this determination—to let it be known and felt, that the WILL to defend freedom, was as strong as the *will* to perpetuate Slavery, and that in the contest free born men would pit enthusiasm against interest—a love for humanity against a love for power—a hatred of wrong against a hatred of change—a determination to do justice against a determination to do injustice, in a spirit of loyalty to man and to God, which would never waver. We claim for ourselves no high attainment or lofty qualities. We say not that we possess virtues beyond those belonging to ordinary men. But we do say, unhesitatingly, that we did meet and brave the slave power, and break through its policy of DOING NOTHING. And what is the result? Why, that in Kentucky, at this hour, the question of Slavery is discussed at every point, and that, for the first time, elements are at work which will force slaveholders from their determination, and compel the State, eventually, through the sovereign voice of the people, to assert the doctrine of UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

We believe, therefore, that no other course but the course we pursued, was the correct one. And in adopting it, we did not forget to weigh well and maturely what we said and did. We were not without plan or principle. We did not to-day say this, and to-morrow that, as impulse or passion might dictate, and, like the Guerilla soldier strike now at this point, and now at that, as some present personal motive influenced us. No! Though no calculator as regards self, we kept in view the whole ground—what we had to do—how best it might be done—the character of slaveholders—the ties which wedded them to the peculiar institution, and how these ties might be severed soonest and safest, for master and man; and amid abuse, slander, and a goading social tyranny such as chafes to the quick a proud and defiant spirit, we moved forward with a caution which baffled a lynxed-eye fox, and made him hear what his haughty nature hated to brook—the free discussion of Slavery. And the fact, that after our long-continued public exertion, he was able to seize hold of, and turn to account, only one error—if it may be so called—is strong evidence that our conduct throughout, was marked by some degree of coolness, and foresight; and had we not been prostrated on a bed of sickness nigh unto death, had we been able to face our foes before the people, to explain their glosses and expose their misrepresentations, to say what we did mean as regards that one error—they never would have "triumphed," (that is the word used *now*; what *hereafter* will their action be called?) as they did. We are willing, at any rate, to abide the verdict of the future. And, thus content, we should not now, or at any time, notice these personal assaults, or seek to put ourselves right at home or abroad with those who make them, were it not, that we wish to husband every influence we may possess or can command, and especially to keep strong and fresh—burning as the live coal upon the altar—the true-hearted affections of every brother in freedom that man's best and highest influence and God's surest power on earth—HUMAN SYMPATHY—may be brought to bear most energetically in breaking the chain of the slave, and lifting up our poor whites to the elevated level of a brave and intelligent manhood. If there be rashness or violence in this—if such conduct marks an unmitigated zealot, then is "A Calm Observer" right—then do we merit his rebuke, and the rebuke of all honest men.

We have something further to say on the general subject referred to by "A Calm Observer;" but this, with other matters, we must defer for another week for want of room.

Translated for the New-York Evening Mirror.

PRONUNCIAMIENTO
OF GENERAL MARIANO PAREDES Y ARRILLAGA.

To the Mexican Nation:—In undertaking the enterprise which the acclamation of the army and the will of the people have confided to me, my first care is to address myself to the nation. A soldier of my country, and elevated by that country far beyond my merits, I owe it the duty, in moments solemn as the present, to give it an account of my conduct, of my projects and intentions. It is now twenty-four years since Mexico presented herself, for the first time, among the civilized nations of the earth, demanding an equal and independent position among them. The army of "three guaranties" had just taken possession of the capitol, and the Mexican people saluted with shouts of joy, the first dawn of national prosperity. Our independence of the mother country had been finally secured; and the long and bloody struggle had ended in the union of all parties; and the constancy, patriotism, and valor of the hero of Iguala had reconciled the conflicting interests of the various factions, and the confidence and satisfaction which seemed everywhere to prevail, entitled the nation to look forward to long years of peace and prosperity. The condition of the administration justified these hopes. The ability, moderation, and prudence of the chiefs of 1821 had conquered our independence without internal broils, and in casting our eyes over the broad lands won by our valor, we could not fail to be struck with the rich inheritance that had fallen to our lot. Our revenue had sufficed to defray the expenses of a splendid Government without the citizens feeling oppressed by the burden of taxation. Spain had paid with it, her army, her navy, her judiciary, and, in short, her whole civil list, besides giving occasional succor to her then distressed colonies of Cuba and the Philippine Islands, and carrying to the peninsula, after all these drains, a large surplus. The tribunals of justice were a model of integrity, and the army of the revolution was numerous, well disciplined, and warlike. We thus possessed all the elements of a great nation, and during the first years of our independence the whole world believed that we were about to form, on this new continent, a powerful and prosperous empire. Commerce, relieved from the fetters which had bound her, already began to develop her resources; and Agriculture, in like manner set free, supplied the markets of Europe with its products—many of them hitherto unknown beyond the limits of our territory. The mines recovered their ancient vigor, and foreign capital from all quarters flowed into the country, to give life and animation to the national industry. All the American nations had recognized our independence—some of the European monarchies had followed their example, and we had every reason to hope, that in a short time the principal powers of both continents would enter into commercial treaties with us, based upon our mutual interests. Everything, then, seemed to justify our most flattering hopes—a prosperous condition of the finances, more than sufficient for our necessities; a well-organized and rigorous administration; a numerous and warlike army; a laborious and obedient population; the sympathies of the rest of the world; and in order to develop the elements of prosperity vouchsafed to us by Providence, the union of all domestic parties; public confidence, and above all, the blessings of independence and the hopes of liberty. The present condition of the country but too plainly shows how these promises have been fulfilled. Selfish parties, without patriotism and without honor, have succeeded to the chief command, for the sole purpose of tyrannizing over, and ruining the republic. Civil discords have consumed our strength, and the foundations of society have been sapped by corruption. We have been now twenty-four years trying all kinds of systems, and the whole of this time has been marked by constant revolutions. And what has been the result?

If we cast our eyes abroad, we shall behold the nation insulted, and humiliated as well by the arms, as the policy of the strangers. The weak and improvident administrations who have succeeded each other in power have permitted Texas to be torn from our grasp, and we are threatened, if we attempt to reconquer the *rebel province*, with a disastrous war by a powerful neighbor. Our foreign relations in other quarters, are far from being satisfactory, our neighbors publicly predict, and the prediction is echoed by European politicians, that the North American stars and stripes will soon wave over the towers of Mexico, and be carried in triumph as far as the isthmus of Panama. Such is the idea which the world has formed of our internal divisions, of our weakness and misery. If on the other hand we withdraw our glance from abroad, and throw it for a moment over our own land, we see nothing but confusion and anarchy.—The republic seems to be literally dropping to pieces, in all quarters—Texas has been separated from the national union—and the disaffected in other departments, calculating upon the imbecility of the central Governments, and openly preaching insurrection. The Administration wholly under the influence of party, and occupied with its miserable quences, abandons the frontier departments to the sanguinary incursions of the savages. The army, diminished in its numbers, and neglected more and more from day to day, is unequal to the task of preserving internal quiet, or carrying on the foreign war. Its forbearance and its fortitude are constantly put to the severest test. While the soldier is neither fed nor clothed, the administration of military affairs seems to have been utterly abandoned.

The revenue, which in former times was sufficient to support the Government in splendor, has fallen a prey to a combined system of robbery and quackery. The old servants of the republic—the judiciary, and the army, are suffered to remain in indigence and misery, whilst in some of the departments the most colossal fortunes are made, as if by magic. Bankruptcy stares us in the face, both abroad and at home. A public debt, which is daily increasing, threatens finally to overwhelm us. The revenues of the nation are hypothecated to its creditors, and the Government, like a mendicant, is obliged to beg its bread from day to day; paying the most enormous usury for its petty loans. The scales of justice have been thrown from their balance by the hand of the partisan, and we have witnessed, in a recent and solemn trial, a faction itself covered with the shield of impunity. Our agriculture is perishing for want of proper protection and security, while our commerce, already exhausted, threatens to abandon altogether our coasts, which it formerly promised to cover with rich and populous cities. This sad picture of our condition is unfortunately not exaggerated. It is a faithful account of what all observing men see and feel. Consider what we were twenty-four years ago, and what we might have been with twenty-four years of peace and prosperity, and then contemplate the picture here drawn. In the vain hope of remedying these evils, every day has witnessed more revolutions.—These revolutions, having been the offspring of private interest, have brought us no relief. Congress and Presidents have been changed, but the evils under which we labor have remained the same—the same abuses and corruptions continue to eat up the substance of the State.—No movement hitherto made has been more popular than that of December last. The nation rose up as one man to overthrow a degrading dictatorship. But has our situation been improved? Have not rather these evils been increased? The demagogue has but grasped at the power let fall by General Santa Anna. But little satisfied with the important concessions of the Government, he has preached up war to strengthen his party, while he has been laboring hard to destroy the army. Hiding under the cloak of ultra federalism, his well-known projects of vengeance, and his love of anarchy, he cares little for the interests of a country to which he is bound by no ties, and whose ruin even he would court, provided he and his adherents could fatten on its spoils. Governed by a set of partisans whom he fears, he travels from concession to concession. Defamation, calumny, and threats extract from his weakness the most pernicious measures, whilst anarchy is daily organizing its forces to overthrow the nation anew. The army has at length determined to save the country, and to put a stop to the precarious and insane state in which it has existed for some time past. I, who have had the honor of combating for the independence of my country; I who have had the honor of being the first to raise the standard of insurrection in Jalisco, against a hateful tyranny, feel myself called upon to carry out the *grito* which the nation raised on that occasion. Mexico has not beaten down one tyrant to elevate others in his stead. She has not overthrown a soldier to deliver herself bound hand and foot to the demagogue. If such had not already been my convictions, the entreaties which I have received from my countrymen, and the spontaneous election of the army, to put myself at the head of the present movement, would be sufficient to inspire me with them. While marching upon the capital, to crown the glorious enterprise entrusted to my care, I declare in the most solemn manner, in the presence of the whole nation, that we do not go, simply to effect a change of persons in the Government, but that we aspire to a more noble object. We have not undertaken to usurp the presidency, and to change the members of Congress. Our object is, to call upon the nation, in order that, without the fear of turbulent minorities, it may embody its will in a set of representatives, who will raise a barrier against the dissolution which threatens us—to prevent the Administration from falling into the hands of factions who will bring disgrace upon the nation. Our object is, to restore to the productive classes the wealth and influence which they have lost, and to give to the industrial and laboring classes the position which belongs to them in the Government. The nation, tired of living amid eternal broils, cries aloud for some guaranty of peace and tranquillity. For this reason I have decided, and the army have decided with me, to make a new revolution, in order that it may be the last, and that we may at length commence, beneath the shade of peace and internal tranquillity to develop those resources with which we have so abundantly been blessed by Providence. As for myself, I desire no place, no power. Those ephemeral dictatorships, which have heretofore served only to heap ill-gotten wealth upon their possessors, have no illusions for me.—On this point my opinions are well known, and they have been proved more than once during my arduous career.

The stain of avarice and corruption has never fallen upon my character. My ambition is more elevated, and if I despise political intrigues, and hold in equal disgust the corrupt flatteries which are usually bestowed upon those in power, I aspire in exchange to a more brilliant and lasting glory. These are not the hypocritical declarations of an ambitious man, seeking to hide his real objects from the public view, and I shall no sooner enter into the city of Mexico, than I will convoke an assembly, duly elected by all the voters in the State, and clothed with unlimited authority, for the purpose of remodelling the Government according to the will of the people. All classes of society—the clergy, the military, the magistracy, the literary professions, commerce, industry, and agriculture, will be represented in this assembly, and from the moment it meets, all power will cease to exist, except such as may emanate from it. Happy then, as having conscientiously discharged my duty, I shall either retire to private life, or I shall ask the privilege of marching to the frontier, to encounter the usurpers of our territory and the enemies of our independence and prosperity.

San Louis Potosi, December 15th, 1845

(Signed,)
MARIANO PAREDES Y ARRILLAGA.

From the New-York Mirror.

ARBITRATION.

The National Intelligencer of Tuesday, considers the rejection of arbitration by our Government, taking into view the manner of that rejection, together with the character of the notes of Mr. Packenham, as pointing very manifestly to war. In fact, the sagacious and well-informed editor of that journal regards the notes of the British Minister as a sort of manifesto to the world—an attempt to justify in advance a resort "to the final arbitrament which the United States forces upon her, by rejecting all her offers of conciliation."

This is a very serious view of the case, indeed; and it is a view entitled to respect on account of the source from which it emanates. If the view be correct, then we are on the verge of a tremendous calamity—an unnecessary war; a war which might have been avoided; a war caused by pushing to the extreme claims which, in this extent, vast numbers of our citizens—and among them some of our ablest and purest statesmen—consider untenable. American citizens ought to look this question in the face, and see if they are prepared for the probable and possible consequences of this termination of the negotiation. We give in full the closing paragraphs from the Intelligencer:

"On the face of these papers, knowing, as we have said, of nothing withheld from the public which can change their aspect, we must say that this absolute and unceremonious refusal of arbitration, when even the choice of manner and form of arbitration is placed, as it were, at the absolute disposal of the United States, is scarcely defensible on the ground of mere expediency, and not at all defensible on the ground of public law.

"The duty of nations to submit all matters in controversy between them to such friendly arbitrament, rather than to disturb the peace of the world by resorting to war, (or, by what is equivalent, making it unavoidable,) is enforced by every accredited writer on international law; nor is there any portion of that law more rational or more imperative upon civilized nations. We shall quote only one writer on this subject, but he is one whose authority is conclusive:

"'Who will dare [says Vattel] to insist that another [sovereign] shall immediately, and without examination, relinquish to him a *disputable* right? This would be a means of rendering wars perpetual and inevitable. *Both* the contending parties may be equally convinced of the justice of their claims; why, therefore, should either yield to the other? In such a case, they can only demand an examination of the question, propose *a conference*, or AN ARBITRATION, or offer to settle the point by articles of agreement.'

"That the respective rights of the United States and Great Britain to Oregon *are* disputable, and have been considered doubtful by every Administration of this Government preceding the present, the whole world knows, and solemn conventions between the two countries bear witness.

"Looking to the duty of nations, as prescribed by public law in precisely such cases as that of the Oregon controversy, the question now submitted by the President and his advisers to the American people is, whether they will adopt the novel principle of peremptorily rejecting all arbitration, and, virtually withdrawing themselves from the social circle of nations, become disturbers of the peace of the world?"

General Cass, in his last speech on Monday, and other members of Congress, high in the confidence of the Administration, have declared, over and over again, that the danger of war was imminent, and General Cass adds that every day increased his apprehensions. Is it not time, then, for the American people to look at this side of the question?

Supposing war to come, all are agreed that Great Britain is well prepared, while our preparation amounts to nothing at all. Mr. McLane, writing from England and after a conference with Lord Aberdeen, warns this country very fully on this point. What would probably be her first step? Can any one doubt? An army in the Southern States, with black regiments intermixed.—Attended by sufficient transports, a force of 15,000 men might convey, in one season, an incredible number of blacks to Jamaica, arming as many as was thought fit for service on our soil. The commander of such an army could, and probably would, forbid murder and rapine on the part of the fugitive slaves—but would he be able to restrain them? If their departure was opposed by their masters, would not the slaves have recourse to violence, and if a struggle of this sort were once commenced, who can tell its horrors? Would there not be reason to fear a general insurrection? To suppose that Great Britain, having command of the sea, would not make use of this superiority to attack us in so vulnerable a point, is well nigh incredible. By securing the Gulf of Mexico, there would be no impediment to the free passage of transports between any of the ports on the Gulf and Jamaica, or the nearer harbors of Mexico. Fifty transports, capable of containing five hundred men each, could make fifteen or sixteen voyages in one year, and thus carry, perhaps, 300,000 blacks, valued moderately at $100,000,000. Nor would this be the only loss: labor, through all the States south of Tennessee, would necessarily be in a great degree suspended; but suppose only one half the crop of cotton, sugar, and rice should be raised, there would be a loss of 30 or $40,000,000 more. Great Britain could nowhere strike so effectual a blow, nor could resistance anywhere be so difficult. On the other hand we might, and probably should, overwhelm Canada in one campaign, and take every post in it except Quebec, nor would Great Britain probably make serious resistance in that quarter, when she had a so much more inviting field elsewhere.—The amount of injury we should inflict in this quarter would be the destruction of the valuable commerce of that colony and possibly its permanent loss to Great Britain by the establishment of an independent Government there, which the mother country would be unable to put down. This would no doubt be a serious blow, but it would be a trifle compared with the 130 or $140,000,000 direct loss in slaves, and in the products of the South, to say nothing of the general stagnation of commerce.

The losses at sea might balance each other, Great Britain having the most to lose, but also the greatest force with which to inflict losses. This view is limited to the *direct* injury to property which would be sustained, and this is scarcely to be reckoned among the most serious calamities which this state of things would bring about. The Duke of Wellington (an authority in military matters) says that a war with this country should be a short war—which we understand to mean, that the whole energies of that nation should be exerted at the outset.—The picture at the best is a frightful one. But General Cass, the Administration leader in the Senate, declares it imminent, and the danger daily increasing, and the most able, sagacious, and honest opposition paper, the National Intelligencer, considers the rejection of arbitration as tending directly towards it. Ought not, then, the people to contemplate this side of the question?

Communications.

Letter from J. Fult n, Jr.

ERCILDOUN, 1st mo. 28 h, 1846.

In "H. W. G." of the last Standard, I at once recognized a respected friend, and a zealous friend of the Anti-Slavery cause. Of course I read his article with avidity, and closed by concluding that the Liberty men were not quite sound where he lived—the idea occurring that that must be in Montgomery county; but on recurring to his heading, I noticed that he hails from my own Chester, where, indeed, I supposed, until I read his piece, he was still living. But knowing him to be a man of truth, how could I suppose he dated from Chester county, after reading his article? But it is even so. He speaks of the "third party *here*,"—the Liberty party *here*," &c. Did he really know what he was about, or had he got into a poet's dream? His piece would be laughable, did it not too seriously implicate character, and that, too, of his personal friends, to whom he has not intimated a doubt of their sincerity so far as I know.

I care not about the first part of his letter; he has a right to his opinions, opinions some of us think not valuable or important, and which have often been the subject of discussion; but let us see what the latter part contains.

"Third party *here*" (of Chester county, of course, for I suppose Schuylkill township has not made nominations,) dislikes "Eastern controversies," but "nevertheless, that they *do not* scruple to enter into these very controversies to justify open *betrayal* of the cause,"—that "one of the most cunning strokes in the policy of the Liberty party *here*, has been to nominate Abolitionists who had taken no part whatever in favor of their scheme,"—that "some could not withstand" the temptation, but others "promptly rejected the honors in store for them," &c.

The voting Abolitionists, as well as others in this county, I believe, (and I ought to know them generally,) are almost to a man, of the old organization stripe,—they (the former) in years past adopted the "questioning system,"—then the "scattering" plan, and the past two years the most of them united upon the plan of independent nominations of Anti-Slavery men, declaring in their *public* resolves, that they should continue to do so UNTIL *one* or *both* of the great parties should put up Anti-Slavery men, who needed no questioning. If this is Liberty party, then is there a Liberty party in Chester county. Being much prejudiced against that party, and believing there were objections to it, *not to be* obviated, which probably the most of us still believe,—we were *mainly* led to give the above plan a *trial* (which differs with Liberty party as generally understood in this essential,—that our nominations only last until the other parties shall nominate Abolitionists,) *though the influence* which obtained at the "*Decade* meeting," *controlled* by such men as S. S. Foster, Bradburn, White, Gay, Douglass, and Remond.

Then, this kind of Liberty party, is with us, like the "questioning" and "scattering" systems,—on trial,—if its fruits seem to be good we shall continue, if not, we shall drop it, for other and better means.

Upon us, then, does the charges of "H. W. G." fall, and as I profess to hold such a course, as he has attributed to us, in loathing and contempt, I ask of him explicitly to state,

1st. Who of us, and when and where have we justified "open betrayal of the cause"?

2d. When have we nominated "Abolitionists who had taken no part" with us, and by inference would imply that they were opposed to us?

3d. When did we nominate "others" who "promptly rejected the honors in store"?

Again, from the connection it would seem that he charges us also with a "declension" of desire, "to have the churches thoroughly probed."

1st. Where is the evidence of this in Chester county; who of us are guilty?

2nd. Does he not know that within the past two years, the churches have been more faithfully handled than ever before,—and does he not know that some of these "third party" men have spoken and written more than any others in exposition of the Church's apostacy?

Again, 1st. The voters of this county differing in opinion relative to the propriety of separate nominations, might they not innocently nominate one they supposed to be in favor of the course, even though it should prove that he was not?

2d. If not, how could the State Society at Kennett nominate William Jackson for President, with every presumption that he was opposed to the action and course of that society,—together with numerous kindred cases all over the country, in the history of our struggle?

3d. Does it follow that the State Society had a design to bribe him with the "*honors*" of the post?

4th. And what would be esteemed the paltry nature of that man's views and feelings who would have suggested such a design, publicly or privately?

Finally, I was in both our nominating Conventions, and *know* that it was a leading principle not to nominate any person but what would be satisfied, and was not aware, until now, that we had. If it has been so, the Convention was not aware of it, and I should much regret it. Let "H. W. G." answer.

"H. W. G." cannot see how third party, and no voters can labor together. Hear him: "They might as well wonder why the Abolitionists have never compounded with the Colonizationists." Does he believe this?—if so, he is at issue, I think, with M. W. Chapman, the "Napoleon" of the enterprise—authority that will not be questioned by many of our friends.

In her interesting account of the great Faneuil Hall Bazaar, I find these remarkable words, among an unusual number of others, of like import: "He who holds to his *pro-slavery Church*, and *State*, or *party*, is as good a member of the American Anti-Slavery Society, if it likes him so to consider himself, *as he* whose conscience forbids such pro-slavery allegiance."

Will this doctrine be endorsed by "H. W. G." and the "Standard"? If so, we shall hear no more "cant" about the Liberty voters generally, and those of the West in particular,—and of the "Philanthropist," in opposing the doctrine, that to be eligible for a Liberty nomination they must stand disconnected from all pro-slavery churches. To take this stand, they would be far in advance of non-voters. The latter do not demand it, and why ask it of Liberty party? If they did, they would cut off such devoted laborers as L. and J. Mott, E. M. Davis, and many others in Philadelphia, and elsewhere. Our friends in the West have been agitating it quite earnestly, and, as a body, in so doing, have taken a step not yet taken by our ultra friends in the East, of the no-voting opinion.

That is, many in the West have urged that *none* but come-outers from all pro-slavery churches, should be nominated for political office—while, in the East, I believe, none have urged that the officers and agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society must necessarily take this position touching their church relations. If they have, it has amounted to nothing. Some of their most powerful friends are still thus connected, and M. W. Chapman says they are "*as good*" members as the *best*.—Agreeing, it would seem to me, with Liberty party in one thing, viz:—that in their citizen capacity to occupy a more thorough Anti-Slavery position than in their church relations.

"Let us hear no more" "cant," then, on either side, but both attend to the abolition of Slavery, which both are in imminent danger of forgetting.

To close, allow me to say, that did I possess the spirit of certain men, and Anti Slavery journals,* I should have headed this letter "*No-Voting Morality*,"—for something of this kind is the salutation we find from those, when they fall upon any *little* item of news or statement not literally correct, and even though designed, sometimes, as a joke,—when it is found in an opposing Anti-Slavery point. A course most unworthy the dignity of men and reformers.

I choose to infer, until further enlightened, that my friend, "H. W. G." (for such I have been glad to call him) has wronged us unintentionally, from one, two, or a dozen causes, that obscured his vision at the time or led him into error; rather than to suppose he brought these "railing accusations," knowingly and deliberately against us. Meanwhile, I shall await his answer, and subscribe myself, watchfully, his and the cause's friend,

J. FULTON, Jr.

* The Standard and Bugle particularly,—touching the little story about Ex Governor Corwin being taken up as a fugitive slave,—the erroneous report of S. S. Foster and A. Kelley's marriage, the members of Utica or Troy Liberty Convention taking advantage of the Railroad Managers' terms of passage, to all who might be going to an agricultural exhibition, held at the same time and place; and other kindred items of error or joke set down gravely to "*Liberty party morality*." Not that any of these are right, but if error, it does not necessarily follow, that the reporter of them done so knowingly, or with design to wrong or deceive. Such a course is on a par with that spirit that cries out, Infidel, Anti-Government, Anti-Church, Anti-Sabbath, and Anti-Ministry, when our devoted friends assail the corruptions and pro-slavery of any of these. Each watching over the other for evil, and not for good, and to act the part of either is unbecoming high-minded friends of the cause.

"Church Action on Slavery."

LUDLOWVILLE, February 6, 1846.

FRIEND GAY:—Below I give you for publication, a set of resolutions passed by a meeting of the Presbyterian Church, in this village, and which indicate that there is a change going on in many of the professed churches, which will eventuate in their entire separation from *Southern*, and PRO SLAVERY NORTHERN CHURCHES, and we may safely say, that whenever the Church takes Gospel ground on this subject, a grave will be speedily dug for Slavery that it may be buried out of our sight, and no resurrection written out upon its tomb-stone in legible characters that cannot be misunderstood. May God speed the day when the entire churches of our land shall become Christianized, and "*No Union with Slaveholders*," be their motto. Yours, for the slave,

JAMES A. BURR.

At a meeting of the Presbyterian Church of Ludlowville, Tompkins county, N. Y. held in that place on Thursday evening, January 29th, 1846, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted, and ordered to be published:

Whereas, Christians are in Scripture called "the light of the world," and are commanded "to let their light shine," and to hold no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness," but rather reprove them; and whereas the General Assembly of that portion of the Presbyterian Church with which we stand connected, has referred the subject of Slavery to the lower judicatories; and whereas we have reason to apprehend that the reputation of the churches has suffered in consequence of their silence, as well as by their expression of doubtful or wrong views on this subject—therefore

1st. Resolved, That this church is fully convinced that righteousness is an essential element of that Kingdom, for the coming of which it is our duty and privilege to pray and labor.

2d. That equally clear is our conviction that American Slavery is unrighteous, not only in those enactments which create and sustain it, but also in the conduct of those who take advantage of, and carry out these enactments, by holding their fellow-men as property.

3d. That since our Divine Master has said, "whosoever shall break one of the least of His commandments, and teach men so, shall be called the least in the Kingdom of Heaven," we know not how to recognize as a properly qualified Christian minister and teacher, the man who shall hold to the heresy that American Slavery is not sinful.

4th. That we are deeply pained at the position at present occupied by the Church South, in relation to this matter, believing, as we do, that whatever may be the private views and feelings of individual Christians there, that that portion of the Church, as a body, by its silence, is exerting an influence prejudicial in the extreme, to the speedy approach of that day, "when liberty shall be proclaimed throughout the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

5th. That we are fully convinced that it is a duty incumbent upon all ministers and members of the Church, South, to see to it that themselves as individuals, and the Church as a body, neglect no opportunity to bear testimony, in every possible way, against a system, the sinfulness and unrighteousness of which, would be abundantly evident to them, if themselves were its victims. [Romans 2: 17.

6th. That our delegate to the meeting of the Presbytery, to be holden on Tuesday, the third day of February, next, be instructed to vote for no one to represent this Presbytery at the coming session of the General Assembly who will not act up fully to the spirit of the foregoing resolutions.

J. JENNINGS, Moderator.

H. B. LORD, Secretary.

The Non-Voting Theory.

Mr. GAY:—Will you allow me to state to your readers an objection to your *non-voting* or *non-juror* philosophy?

I have just read your article in the last number of the Standard, and, it appears to me that you do not discriminate between the voter who aims to sustain the Constitution as the best possible, and him who aims to sustain it as a Constitution which can and must grow better, as the spirit of the people grows better.

A deep, clear, all pervading life of truth, in the people of this nation, would soon remove all that is bad in the Constitution and elsewhere. The perfect life of truth would give us a perfect Government perfectly executed. A larger measure of this life would naturally amend the Constitution and improve all our forms. What then shall we do, at present? Shall we retire from the polls, as soon as the higher truth comes to show us defects in the Constitution, and leave the Government in the hands of those whose eyes and hearts remain dark? With the whole people, as they are now, is not our present Constitution better than none? Is it sin to "sustain" a Constitution in which there is a bad place, until we can get a better one, professing meanwhile, by word and deed, that we will do all in our power to get the bad place mended?

I think I am entirely free from the prejudice which your views encounter in many others, and yet I cannot feel any force in your reasoning. It seems to me to proceed from an imperfect view of the matter. Our Government, as it is, is better than anarchy. Our Constitution is the best we have. I for one long to see it better; and the only wise course is, to take it as we find it, and try to make it better, by doing all in our power to promote a higher life in the people, and introduce better influences into the councils of the nation.

Under any oppressive Government, there may be two parties,—those who like the "Constitution," as it is, and those who seek to have it amended. Both parties may "sustain" the Constitution, by voting under it, and yet they do not sustain it after the same fashion. The Conservatives sustain it with a disposition to make it eternal. The fashion of the Liberals, is to say it has certain imperfections, to which they will never be reconciled, and which they will continue to denounce, until the nation is persuaded to remove them. Were I a native citizen of Russia, I should not like the Russian form of Government; but I should dislike anarchy more. If I remained in the country, I should be a Liberal, and do what I could to promote, in my countrymen, that life of thought and feeling which would produce a better form.

We have duties to all men. Let us *in no respect* lose the feeling of human brotherhood. Let us believe in truth, act as true children of the Spirit, and "wait for the day." It seems to me we are bound to be incessant in labors, to incite the spirit of our countrymen to rise out of all darkness and shadows into the region of clear and serene light. Shall we secede, and become "Disunionists"? Shall we not rather stay in the Commonwealth as *citizens*,—and, as citizens, continue to speak, and act, and agitate, and preach righteousness, and vote, with a view to expel from the people and from the Constitution all that is wrong?

JOHN D. BALWIN.

KILLINGLY, Ct. Jan. 6, 1846.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, FEB. 19, 1846.

The Methodist Protestants.

Orange Scott and the "Methodist Protestant," the organ of the sect of that name, have recently had a discussion on the question of Slavery, which is of considerable interest. We have no great sympathy, as our readers may remember, with the Wesleyans, believing as we do, that they are far from maintaining a consistent Anti-Slavery testimony in their church. It is not permitted to the true Abolitionist to be only a relatively good one. His aim is too distinct, the measures to accomplish it too palpable, the philosophy and morality of his first principles too high to permit him to extenuate his own short-comings by those of others. With the starting-point that "Slavery is a sin, and must be immediately abolished," we can reach no other goal than that of "No union with slaveholders." The Wesleyans acknowledge this, theoretically at least, in separating from the mother Church because of her pro-slavery character. If they did right in that, then they do wrong in not relieving themselves entirely from all connection with Slavery; and if they are right in their present position, then they were wrong in separating from the mother Church.

Yet are there among the Wesleyans many sincere and uncompromising Abolitionists; men whose idea of Christian duty has led them to cut that bond which twines so closely round the human heart, who have abandoned as an unholy temple, the Church which, from their youth upward

leyan principles be correct, and he thinks them 'most for the glory of God,' then, *if Slavery be a sin, there is not a Wesleyan in the country but he is guilty of it*: for Slavery is a *civil* and not an *ecclesiastical* item."

This is hitting the Wesleyans hard, and excepting the pernicious doctrine that makes the citizen responsible for a sin for which as a Christian he is innocent, *is* sound doctrine. If there are many in the Wesleyan Church who believe in the pro-slavery character of the Constitution of the United States, Mr. Scott does wisely in putting an end to a discussion which was taking so dangerous a direction.

The fifth question and answer, we give entire:

Question:—"Can any Christian denomination which is a *unit* throw off responsibility from one portion of the Church while acknowledged moral evils are tolerated in another portion?"

Answer:—The compact and responsibilities of our Church are determined by our Constitution; and in that we have not agreed to be a UNIT in this case. As to lay rights, and such matters, we are a UNIT: *but as to Slavery, we have assumed no responsibilities*; we left that, where, if the Wesleyans had left it, the poor slave might have heard the name of Jesus from Wesleyan lips. Besides, this is the argument that fixes the guilt of Slavery, which Rev. Mr. Scott regards as the deepest moral stain, upon his own soul: *for is not Slavery a matter of State? and are not these United States a unit? and is it not by breaking up this great Union*, rather than by shattering religious sects, that Rev. Mr. Scott, &c., are to wash away their guilt? What sort of principles are they, that require treason against such a country as the United States? May God, of his infinite mercy, save us from such destructive sophistry.

Here then is the position of the Methodist Protestants distinctly avowed. With a system which the founder of Methodism declared to be the "sum of all villainies," they have nothing to do; and we may be certain that were John Wesley now alive he would declare them to be a synagogue of Satan, and of the "Brotherhood of Thieves." Treason against the United States with them is a greater crime than treason to the Head of the Church; the Constitution is of more binding force than the principles of Jesus. But on the other hand the Protestant by this reasoning places the Wesleyans in a dilemma when he shows that they shrink from an application of their own principles, and fear to commit treason to human law in obedience to the divine. We leave it to Mr. Scott to define the exact line of difference between two churches, one of which refuses to establish a platform which would bring them in conflict with the law of the land, and another which establishes the platform but shrinks from the conflict.—G.

Mr. Winthrop on the Slave-Trade.

"There is another stain upon the commercial spirit, of even deeper dye. I need not, in this presence, do more than name the African Slave-Trade. Gentlemen, this flagitious traffic is still extensively prosecuted. Recent debates in the British Parliament would seem to show that it has of late been largely on the increase; and that the number of slaves now annually taken from the coast of Africa, is more than twice as great as it was at the commencement of the present century. Recent developments at Brazil, too, would seem to implicate our own American, and even our own New England, commerce, in 'the deep damnation of this taking off.' It is, certainly, quite too well understood, that American vessels, sailing under the American flag, are the favorite vehicles of the Slave-Trader. No force of language, no array of epithets, can add to the sense of shame and humiliation which the simplest statement of such facts must excite in every true American heart."

This *morceau* of sentimental declamation is by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston, and is handed round the country from paper to paper—a remarkable proof of the inordinate appetite of the American people for "humbug." Next to religious cant deliver us from the cant of philanthropy. This same Mr. Winthrop, who talks in such pretty rounded periods of the Slave-Trade on the coast of Africa, and can find no words to express his "sense of shame and humiliation," recovers very speedily from his fit of maudlin humanity when he takes his seat in Congress. There he is within sight of slave depots, and can hear the clank of chains, even in his seat in the House, of a worse slave-trade, in some respects, than the coast of Africa ever saw, but his "American heart" never beats the quicker therefor—indeed it would hardly be an American heart if it did.

And the "commercial spirit" then *can* have the "dye" of guilt upon it? even "New England commerce" *can* be implicated in wrong? Good. There is hope in this acknowledgment that New England may sometimes understand that the patriotism and morality of her cotton-brokers is n t all of Heaven. She may one day understand that this Mr. Winthrop represented nothing but the sordid wickedness of this same "commercial spirit," when he maintained in Faneuil Hall, last Fall, that the Union, at any rate, must be preserved. She too may, sometime, feel a tingling sense of "shame and humiliation," that for the hope of a high Tariff, and an extension in the trade in sheetings and shirtings, her liberties, and honor, and morality, was sold by these Winthrops, and Lawrences, and Appletons, and a wide-extended territory annexed to this Union, that a *Foreign Slave-Trade* might be made a *domestic one*, and the price of human flesh enhanced. Has the vassalage of this Northern Representative so stultified, as well as debased him, that he cannot see how ridiculous, as well as contemptible, this affected horror of a foreign Slave-Trade makes him, when he submits, and boasts of his submission, to the national slave-bargain which we have made for Texas?

Bible Politics!

Mr. Adams made a speech on the question of "Notice," which presents the subject in an altogether new light. We give below a sketch of it from the Washington correspondent of the Tribune, for the information of those whose own ingenuity is at a loss to find reasons for our title to the whole of Oregon. In his younger days, Mr. Adams wrote some letters on the Bible to his son, which have been circulated somewhat extensively in MSS. in Massachusetts, and in which, I recollect, he says that it had long been his habit to read a chapter in that book every morning. If the speech below is a result of this commendable exercise, it should be annexed in an appendix to the first edition of his Letters that may be published. It may be thought, however, that an old man, on the brink of the grave, might make a somewhat better use of that volume than to quote it in defence of the grasping policy of a nation that demands new territory on the one hand to extend human slavery, and on the other, at the risk of a bloody and ruinous war:

The speech of Mr. Adams was a curious affair, but the hour rule cut him off before he had got half through. He said, after replying to Mr. King, that he conceived our title rested on the 26th, 27th and 28th verses of the first chapter of the Book of Genesis, which the Clerk read as follows:

"26. And God said, Let us make man in our image after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and the fowl of the air, and over the cattle and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.

"So God created man in his own image: in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them.

"And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over everything that moveth upon the earth."

That gives us a very good title. But let the Clerk read another passage from the 2d Psalm. The Clerk accordingly read the 7th and 8th verses of that Psalm.

"I will declare the decree; the Lord hath said unto me, thou art my Son—this day have I begotten thee."

"Ask of me, and I shall give *thee* the Heathen *for* thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth *for* thy possession."

Upon these two passages of Scripture, he thought our best right or title to Oregon was founded.

All commentators agreed that the person referred to in the last passage was Christ the Saviour. The Christian world for a long period of the Christian Era looked upon the Pope of Rome as the representative of Christ on earth. The Pope granted this country to their Catholic Majesties Ferdinand and Isabella, on account of the discoveries under them by Christopher Columbus. It was by virtue of this original authority granted by the Pope, that James and Charles, Kings of England had granted to Virginia and Massachusetts territory extending from sea to sea, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Nor could England now deny the validity of that title as it was by this only that she held Ireland in subjection. The only right she had to Ireland was the title granted to Henry II. by Pope Adrian IV.

What right had we to any of the territory of the old thirteen States themselves, but by virtue of charters granted by Kings under this right of the Pope, we taking the Heathen for his inheritance as the Representative of Christ. The case now pending, in the Supreme Court, between the States of Massachusetts and Rhode Island turned upon these very old grants by England whose only rights were derived from the Pope founded on these passages.

But one great right lay in the fact that we wanted to subdue. We said: England wanted to keep it for hunting purposes for the Hudson's Bay Company—England wanted it for wild animals. We wanted it for civilized, Christian man.

Greeley on "Garrisonians."

"Some inconceivable donkey steals the signature of 'A Whig,' wherewith to expose his ignorance, as follows:"

NEW-YORK. 13th February, '46.

H. Greely, Esqr.—Dr. Sir.—Will you be so kind as to publish in Your paper for the information of the Public in general the "beautiful" resolutions recently passed by Your "friends" the "Abolitionists" of Massachesuetts, together with Your opinion of the same, which was as folous "*Be it resolved* that the only path to the accomplishment of *our object* is over the ruins of the *American Church* and the present *American Union*."

Yours Truly A. WHIG.

P. s.—Such *is* the sentiments of the "party" *of* whom You profess to belong, do You endorse their sentiments or not"!

"If the above resolution was ever passed by any body, it was doubtless by the no-Government, Garrison Abolitionists, who are utterly averse to voting, or acting with any party whatever—'*of* whom we profess to belong,' just as much as we do to the Mormons, Millerites, or any other band of fanatics, who doubtless utter much truth with their distinguishing errors. We 'profess to belong' to no other party than the Whig, though we approve many just and true sentiments proclaimed by members of other parties and of none at all. Where could this counterfeit 'Whig' have been raised?"—

This precious bit of inexcusable calumny we cut from the New-York Tribune. It comes with an ill grace from a man who is ridiculed without mercy for being a Gramahite, who is abused and lied about for being a Fourierite, who is vilified for his sympathy with the anti-renters, is laughed at and dubbed Reverend for sometimes speaking in religious meetings, and is himself styled a fanatic and incendiary by the more conservative of his own party, for professing, in some sort, to be opposed to Slavery. Horace Greeley knows, as well as we do, that the "Garrison Abolitionists" are, in no sort, "No-Government" men. He knows, or ought to know, that but for these very "Garrison Abolitionists," the Tribune would not be where it is to-day,—that public sentiment would not bear for a month all that he now says respecting Slavery, without starving him, or driving him into the ranks of those against whom he now joins in the hue and cry. He knows, or ought to know, that exactly such "moral suasion" as he professes to be using against Slavery, they have used for years—nay, that within the week, column after column of anti-slavery has appeared in his paper, made up in great part with extracts from the text books of the "Garrisonians," and filled entirely with their arguments, and advanced in precisely their way. He knows very well that their principles and measures are not founded upon any fable of dug-up books, like the Mormons, or any exploded religious fanaticism like the Millerites! Such *flings* made to cater to popular prejudice, are unworthy of a man who professes to be a reformer, and knows something of the obloquy which always attends him who advocates unpopular truth, and are especially ungenerous when aimed at those who in their way, are laboring to live up to principles which he himself maintains as true.

Reply to James Fulton, Jr.

I wish merely to touch on one or two points in his letter, as it chiefly concerns "H. W. G." and not the Standard.

The American Anti-Slavery Society declares that anybody may belong to it, except slaveholders, who believes in the sinfulness of Slavery, and that it ought to be immediately abolished. Churchmen or anti-Churchmen. Unionists or Disunionists, Liberty party men or anti Liberty party men, Whigs or Democrats, have all the same rights there, and the majority are guilty of no inconsistency with their own principles, whatever they may be, in thus maintaining the right of membership of the minority. Liberty party, however, insists upon purity in the political relation, but will admit the worst form of pro-slavery in the church relation. To call their party one of "Bible Politics," then, is the wretchedest "cant," and if J. Fulton, Jr. cannot see the difference between its position and that of the American Society, he should not be found fault with for any ridiculous inconsistency he may commit hereafter.

J. Fulton, Jr. may be assured, that to put in circulation a silly hoax, and permit it to go uncontradicted when it is found that it is believed—to state the marriage of two persons whose character is above reproach, for the sake of indulging in the basest and most flagitious insinuations, or the most cruel and brutal jokes,—to hint that a ride to a Liberty party Convention can be had cheap by a little lying and small knavery—is not "*no-voting morality*," however much it may accord with the morality of a party or a person, who chooses to consider such things as only "*little* items of news, or statements not *literally correct*"!

An American in Trouble.

The Sun of Monday publishes a very indignant letter from "A Shipmaster," under date of Kingston, Jamaica, Jan. 22, in which are related the particulars of the arrest of one Major R. Frisbie, master of the brig Energy, of New-York. This Captain Frisbie, it seems, was in Montego Bay, in 1837, where he shipped as cook one Edward Dunston, a colored man,—the man then on board the vessel having obtained his discharge from the authorities, on the plea that he feared the captain would sell him as a slave on his return to the United States. Frisbie also engaged as a waiting-maid for his wife, a colored woman by the name of Rebecca Scarlett. He sailed for New-York, but for some reason, which is not stated, was compelled to put into New Orleans. Here he left his vessel and went to Cincinnati, where his wife died; and thence, he avers, he sent the woman, Rebecca Scarlett, back as far as Natchez, on her way to Jamaica. What he did with the man is not stated, but neither he nor the woman have since been heard of, though many efforts have been made to discover them. Frisbie is now charged by the wife of Edward Dunston, and the friends of Rebecca Scarlett, with having sold them both as slaves, and he has accordingly been arrested on a charge of "abduction and piracy." Great excitement, the letter states, exists in Kingston. The writer, though full of sympathy for his imprisoned countryman, and of fury against the English, makes out but a very poor case in his favor. We shall probably have further particulars by the next arrival.

Reply to J. D. Balwin.

The courteous letter of our friend should have received an earlier insertion, but has been accidentally mislaid. It is as good now, however, as a month ago.

The question of taking or not taking the oath to the Constitution, is one of duty and not of expediency. If it is wrong to swear to do a wrong thing and keep the oath, or if it is wrong to take the oath and break it, then it is wrong to swear support to the American Constitution if it is pro-slavery. This position has been often enough stated to be understood by this time.

It can matter very little whether the Government is in the hands of those who have "come to the higher truth," or in those "whose eyes and hearts remain dark," so long as the action under the Constitution continues pro-slavery, as our friend acknowledges it must, till the "life of truth" pervades the whole nation. So far, then, as the action of the Government now is concerned, the result is the same whether we act under it, or come out from it; and as a change can only be effected by spreading the "life of truth" among the people, we certainly do not refrain from doing that by refusing to vote. On the contrary, we exercise the greater influence, so far as we are ourselves, bright examples of the truth, and a rebuke to wrongdoers in our own lives.

So, too, so long as the majority governs, the Government is in bad hands, whether we vote or not; and we do not, therefore, leave it in such hands by withdrawing from it, any more than by remaining in it.

Neither does our withdrawal create anarchy, for the people will have a Government, and if they are bad, a bad one. The moment they become good, according to our friend's own showing, the Government will become good also. Can he not see that this result is much more likely to be attained by insisting, at once, upon the necessity of such new Government, than by remaining contented with, and acting under, the old one? There is, then, no fear of anarchy, for the people make the Government, and will make it such as they are,—if bad, bad, and if good, then good.

Our purpose is, as part of the people, to begin now to do away with a pro-slavery Government, that a new and anti-slavery Government may be created. In the meantime, we must use every possible means of influence upon the people to convert them to truth, except that of voting; and that we cannot use, precisely because by so doing we are partakers of their sin, and are building up wrong instead of right. Is our friend answered?

The Sovereign State of Kentucky.

Kentucky bids fair to outdo even South Carolina in declaring herself to be *the* United States of America.—Kentucky law, for the future, is to be the paramount law of the land. Carolina has contented herself with imprisoning our citizens, and kicking our agents—provided they will wait long enough to be kicked—out of the State. But Kentucky is disposed to go farther than this. Her State Senate have passed a bill concerning slaves, one section of which provides, that any citizen of "any State where Slavery is not allowed by law, who is found aiding, abetting, harboring, concealing, or assisting any slave or slaves belonging to any citizen of this Commonwealth," shall be imprisoned not less than one, nor more than five years! So, if, hereafter, any Abolitionist gives a crust of bread or a cup of water to any poor fugitive, he may expect, if found out, to be demanded by the Executive of Kentucky as a fugitive from justice.

Here, too, is another little item. The Senate have passed a bill authorizing a bridge across the Ohio, which a correspondent of the Louisville Journal says will, no doubt, pass the House with an amendment, *making the company liable for slaves that may escape across the bridge!*

The Smith School in Boston.

The Boston Atlas gives the report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the present condition of this school, which has recently undergone a change in the mode of its government. It seems that previous to August last, the old system of flogging was maintained in its worst forms. The children grew more and more intractable, and taking advantage of lessons of their teachers in this respect, they were often engaged fighting one another, instead of attending to their studies.—Things were in a very bad state, when an investigation was held. It was supposed that nobody would be solicitous of the office of teacher, but a young man, Ambrose Wellington, who had full faith in the power of love and kindness, applied for it. He chose the worst school in the city in which to try the superiority of moral to physical force, and the experiment has been a most gratifying one. No blow has been struck. He has won the affections and regard of his pupils. They are quiet, orderly, and industrious. The school is represented as being in a most flourishing condition in every respect. Such examples as this we hope will hasten the day when all physical appliances for the reform of moral evils will be banished from the civilized world.

Oregon.

We had only time to give last week the result of the vote in the House of Representatives on the question of giving notice to Great Britain to terminate the joint occupation of Oregon. That the vote should have been so large, excited some surprise and a little panic in this city, which seems however to have passed away. There is not, we think, any likelihood of a war with Great Britain. The considerations which we give in another column, from the New-York Mirror, will have too much weight with the Southern States and their Northern allies, to permit them to plunge the country in a war. The interests of Slavery are very certain data for us to go upon in judging of probabilities relative to any future action of our Government.

"The Albany Evening Journal" is informed that the editor of the Express, to whom its low, false, and ungentlemanly allusion, personally refers, is absent from the city. At present, it is sufficient to say that that allusion divides, in about equal proportions, the blackness of a lie and the brutality of blackguardism."

So says the Express, but it is very careful not to let its readers know what the allusion of the Albany Journal was. The wrath of the Express is not wondered at where it is known that the charge was, that one of the editors of that paper is a *slaveholder*. Notwithstanding the indignant denial, the charge is generally believed to be true.

MEXICO.—The following paragraph is translated from the Courier des Etats Unis. We know from other sources that when General Almonte left the United States, he believed that war between Mexico and this country was inevitable:

"The last intelligence from Mexico leaves no doubt that the new Government of that country is resolved to reject all peaceful overtures from the United States and solicit the intervention of European powers to obtain from the Union indemnification for the loss of Texas and a boundary line under the protecting guaranty of France and Great Britain. We know personally that this was an idea entertained by General Almonte when he left New-York on his return to Mexico, where he now occupies an influential place in the Government.

THE GRANITE FREEMAN is assured that we are "satisfied" that its neglect to give credit for a short article from our columns was unintentional. The article referred to, however, was not a "small item," but of such length and character as to justify us in calling the attention of the Freeman to its want of credit.

PLAGIARISM.—The Howard District Press, published at Ellicotts Mills, Md. gives to its readers as editorial of its own the critical notice of "A Sequel to the Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation," which was published in the Standard some few weeks since. We excuse it in consideration of the Press being published south of Mason and Dixon's line.

A NEW TEST.—Heretofore it has been considered sufficient if any aspirant for public office was himself free from the taint of abolitionism, but for the future the surveillance must extend to all his relations. The Richmond Whig says, speaking of the next Whig nominee for the Presidency:

"If the nomination of Judge McLean should be made by the Whigs, not a single Southern State would support him, because they would believe that he was at heart, if not openly, an Abolitionist, and because they would be unwilling to see a lady, openly proclaiming such sentiments, presiding in the Presidential mansion."

☞ The Rev. WM. JAY, of Bath, England, is well known in this country, for his character for piety, and through his published writings. The Tribune says, a gentleman in Bristol, writes to his friend here, as follows:—

"I lately heard the venerable Wm. Jay, of Bath, preach a missionary sermon. He gave no quarter to the abomination of American Slavery. He stated a fact of Christian slaves being sold by their *professedly* Christian masters; and then looking down over the pulpit, with a grave and solemn voice said:—'Come up, old *devil*, and *try* if you can match that.'"

THE SCHOOL QUESTION IN NANTUCKET.—We are glad to see, by the Nantucket Inquirer, that at an election of School Committee held on Monday and Tuesday of last week, all the candidates favorable to the admission of colored children to the grammar schools, were elected. The election turned entirely on this question, and the result is a triumphant one for the high character of the Nantucket people. The Inquirer has been indefatigable for a long time past in its advocacy of the right side.

THE SLAVE PETRONIA.—The sentence which was passed upon this slave woman at New Orleans on the 2d instant, was carried into effect a few days after. The New Orleans Delta says:

She was secured to the iron railing opposite the Cathedral, with arms extended, and a written placard placed on her breast, having the words—"punished for kidnapping a white child." Hundreds of negroes witnessed the public exhibition, which lasted two hours, and we hope it may have had a salutary effect upon them. In the afternoon the other portion of the sentence was inflicted, and the slave delivered to her owner.

The other portion of the sentence was to be afterwards whipped and returned to her proper owner.

CONGRESS.—The Senate is busy with the question of "Notice." In the House there is little doing. On the 14th instant, Mr. Smith, of Illinois, offered a memorial, the proceedings of a large meeting in that State, accompanied with a resolution that the Committee on Foreign Affairs be instructed to inquire into the expediency of reporting a joint resolution, directing the President to negotiate with Spain for the purchase of the Island of Cuba. Objections being made, the resolution was withdrawn.

Recent Publications.

The Alps and the Rhine By J. T. Headley. The Pilgrim in the shadow of the Jungfrau. By George B. Cheever, D. D.

These two volumes form Nos. 10 and 11 of Wiley & Putnam's Library of American Books. The authors are both Presbyterian divines, their subjects are nearly identical, and their habits of observation and manner of expression very much alike. Mr. Cheever is more of a poet than Mr. Headley, and his descriptions are more chastened by simplicity of taste, but both deal in superlatives to an unpleasant extent. Mr. Headley has the great merit of depending chiefly upon his own powers of description, while Mr. Cheever has overloaded his papers with quotations from Wadsworth and Coleridge. There are some lively descriptions of Alpine scenery in both volumes, but both writers are didactic to a wearisome degree. There are many romantic, and even startling views among the Alps, but they are not the only mountains in the world, nor are they the only visible forms of God's power. A Christian, who has been accustomed all his life to the sun, stars, and clouds, to trees and running water, must be strangely wanting in observation or in devotion, to feel his sense of the Creator's power unusually excited by a sight of the Alps. Mount Blanc is but a hillock compared with the mountains which Humboldt has visited, yet we find more expletives in one page of Mr. Headley's book than in all of Humboldt's travels. Coleridge's hymn in the Vale of Chamouny probably gives the most vivid impressions of the grandeur of Alpine scenery of any writing upon the subject; yet it is subdued, calm, and gentle, as low in tone as an old painting, and as solemn as silence. Next to Coleridge, we know of no author who has given more lively pictures of the Alps than Horace Walpole, in some of his brief letters to his school-fellows; but Alexander Dumas has invested almost every step of the fashionable tour with a new interest by his romantic stories and tales of diablerie, and Victor Hugo has not left a view or a legend on the banks of the Rhine for other travellers.—B.

Works of the Puritan Divines. Bunyan. With a Life by the Rev. James Hamilton. Wiley & Putnam.

This is the first volume of a series which cannot fail to have an extensive circulation; the letters and speeches of Cromwell have prepared the way for the "learned and painful" preachers who flourished in his generation. The specimen number is an exceedingly neat volume of 300 pages.—B.

The Practical Astronomer. By Thomas Dick, L. L. D. Illustrated by 100 engravings. Harpers' New Miscellany, No. V. Harper & Brothers.

This is an excellent book; infinitely better than we could have expected from the other works of the same author.—B

The Life of Paul Jones. By Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, U. S. N. 2 *vols.* Harper & Brothers.

A man of Captain Mackenzie's feeble mind is not the proper person to write the history of a hero like Paul Jones. The cowardly murderer of the Somers could have no feelings in sympathy with the gallant fighter of the Bon Homme Richard; hence, the "Life," though correctly written, is cold and chilly. Paul Jones is sufficiently enigmatical to any mind, but, to a person of Captain Mackenzie's intellect, he is an impossible tangle. The love of liberty and right which Jones assigned as the moving cause which induced him to enter the service of the rebel colonies, might be regarded as equivocal, seeing that he afterwards entered the service of the Empress Catharine, when the States had no fighting for him to do, had he not, at a very early age, quitted the Slave-Trade, at a time when it was both profitable and respectable, from a hatred of its iniquity.—B.

Prescott's Miscellanies, Biographical and Critical. Harper & Brothers.

This elegant volume contains the contributions of the author of the History of Ferdinand and Isabella, to the North American Review. The author's abilities are too well known to require commendation.—B.

The History of Silk, Cotton Linen, Wool, and other fibrous substances; including observations on spinning, dyeing, and weaving. Also an account of the Pastoral Life of the Ancients, their social state and attainments in the Domestic Arts. With appendices on Pliny's Natural History; on the Origin and Manufacture of Linen and Cotton Paper; on Felting, Netting, &c., deduced from copious and authentic sources. Illustrated by Steel Engravings. Harper & Brothers.

The fulness of this title leaves nothing to be written of the book, but that it is all that the title indicates.—Considering the importance of the work, the erudition and industry evidently employed in its composition, we wonder at the absence of the author's name from the title page. The getting up of the work is unusually elegant, and the illustrative engravings numerous and neatly executed.—B.

The Citizen of Prague. Translated by Mary Howitt.—No. 70 of Harpers' Library of Select Novels.

Any work which Mrs. Howitt considers worth translating, must be worth reading; but we wonder that any work worth translating should be considered not worth naming. There is not the slightest indication, neither in the translator's preface nor in the title of the book itself, of the language or author whence it is translated.—B.

This Week's Paper.

FOURTH PAGE.—*Poetry*: The Prison Convict; The Slave's Prayer. *Miscellany*: Phœbe Mallory; the last of the Slaves; A Genuine Philanthropist; Gunpowder and Glory; The Consistent Negro; Bad Ventilation—Injurious effect on the mind.

FIRST PAGE.—*Pro-Slavery*: Slavery and Benevolence; From the Express; Noah's Sunday Times; Free Niggerdom; Fashionable Amusement. *Selections*: The Rights of the Free States Subverted; (Concluded;) Protest of the Universalist Clergy; From the Tribune; Spungers.

SECOND PAGE.—*Ourselves*; Arbitration; Pronunciamiento. *Communications*: The Non-Voting Theory; Letter from J. Fulton, jr.; Church Action on Slavery.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

General Items.

The Contrast.—Capt. Charles Robbins, master of the House of Correction at South Boston, Mass. has had the superintendence of that institution since Jan'y. 19, 1833, and from that time to December 31, 1844, he had had under his charge *seven thousand six hundred and eighty-six* convicts, men, women, and boys, in a prison constructed and managed upon the Auburn plan, and during that time there was never a blow struck by himself or any officer under his care, nor has there been from the last date to the present time.—*Boston Transcript.*

Late from St. Domingo.—From Captain Derickson, late master of the schooner John W. Taylor, of Philadelphia, the Journal of Commerce has intelligence from the city of St. Domingo to the 14th January.

No mention is made confirming the rumors derived from the Port-au-Prince journals, that the Spanish authorities had taken possession of St. Domingo, pursuant to a demand of the people for protection.

The John W. Taylor has been purchased by the Dominican Government for a man-of-war, and will be fitted out in a short time. A Dominican ship of war is daily expected from St. Thomas. News had been received from Samana, stating that a boat had reached that place with twelve Haitians on board, from the wrecks at Port-au-Platt. On their arrival they were made prisoners, and are under march for the capital. Ten Haitian prisoners arrived at the capital on the 6th of January; these were taken at the battle of Beler. The Dominican men-of-war are all well armed, carrying a long pivot gun each, beside their battery, and mostly manned by foreigners. The city is in a perfect state of tranquillity. On the 10th of January eighty Haitian prisoners arrived at the capital, from the Haitian men-of-war wrecked at Port-au-Platt.

Later.—The brig Haiti, Capt. Cutts, arrived at this port last evening from Port-au-Prince, whence she sailed on the 28th ult. We learn from Capt Cutts that the Government of Haiti were making preparation for an expected invasion. The French Consul still remained on board one of the French ships of war, waiting orders from France.

Restoration.—The original portrait of Washington, painted by Stuart, which was so scorched and blistered by the heat of the flames during the conflagration of the Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, as to be deemed almost worthless, has since been restored to its pristine beauty.—*Mirror.*

A Good Idea.—A gentleman living near the Schuylkill river has hit upon a novel and less troublesome method of getting ice. He has a pipe laid along his lot with a number of branches, which conducts the Schuylkill water to perpendicular pipes, with revolving arms. The arms in turning slowly throw out the water in small jets, which freeze as fast as it falls, and makes large circular cakes of ice around them, of several inches thickness every night. All the labor and expense of cutting and carting ice from the river or pond are thus avoided, and the ice-houses are readily filled.—*Ibid.*

Another Slaver.—Captain Davis, late of the schooner Pawtuxent, arrived here on Wednesday, and immediately surrendered himself to the U. S. Marshal. He was required to give bonds in $5000 to appear and answer any charges which may be preferred against him. The schooner was seized on the coast of Africa, last summer, by the U. S. Squadron, on suspicion of being engaged in the slave-trade, and Captain Davis, with the crew, were put on board the U. S. sloop Yorktown, to be brought to the United States for trial.—*Ibid.*

Literary Fraud.—The Waterbury American states that the "Moss Rose," an annual for 1846, is the same in all respects, except the title page, as "The Token, for 1840!"

Gen. Arista.—A brief notice of a singular incident in Arista's history may furnish the American reader some grounds for an opinion as to the effect of the reported new revolution in Mexico upon the issues now pending between that country and the United States. Gen. Arista has long been a leading man in the Northern departments of Mexico. He has resided in the United States, is well educated, understands the English language perfectly, and has a better comprehension of both Mexican and American affairs than any General who has ever headed a rebellion in Mexico. He was violently opposed to the annexation of Texas, but for reasons altogether different from those that have been so pompously announced by his predecessors in revolutionary enterprises. It was he who conceived the idea of forming a separate Confederacy out of the States of Tamaulipas, Coahuila, New Leon, Chihuahua, Sonora, &c, &c. A main feature of this plan was to bring Texas into the new Confederacy. Negotiations were begun with a number of Texas citizens, who were invited to take a part in the proposed revolution, under a guaranty that they would be allowed there just influence in the administration of affairs.

It was through Texas that Arista hoped to get recruits from the United States to the revolutionary army. A force composed in part of American citizens, he felt sure, would enable him to establish the new sovereignty, as he had had occasion to know the difference between such troops and the lazzaroni rabble from which Mexican levies are made. The annexation of Texas completely defeated this enterprise. Since that event we have heard little of his movements except in the way of rumors, which have from time to time reached the United States, in regard to military operations in Northern Mexico, until his letter of 22d December last, in opposition to the revolution of Paredes, which is now before us.

Gen Arista, if our accounts by way of Pensacola should prove true, has taken up arms in favor of Herrera's Government. The complete success of Paredes may not have been known to him. The feeble resistance of Herrera, while in possession of the Government, to the progress of the revolutionists, would scarcely indicate that he is a fit person to rally or support a counter-revolution. If Arista knew this, there would be room to doubt if the present enterprise may not be undertaken with the purpose of establishing the Northern Confederacy, the erection of which he has had so much at heart.

We have no sufficient grounds for predicting the issue of this revolution, but should Arista's aims extend beyond the formation of a Northern Confederacy, he will, if he succeeds in establishing the revolution, go into power with a better knowledge of American affairs, and a better appreciation of American character.—*N. O. Picayune, 3d.*

Ohio Black Law.—The House had before it yesterday a proposition to repeal the law of 1804, commonly known as one of the Black Laws. The law proposed to be repealed, requires colored persons, on coming into the State, to exhibit and have recorded their certificate of freedom, and imposes a heavy fine on those who employ colored persons found without such certificate. The question of Repeal was very ably discussed, and the arguments in favor of it were, to our minds, conclusive. A motion to postpone action indefinitely, prevailed by a majority of 4 votes, the nays being, with two or three exceptions, Whigs. We regret much the defeat of this proposition: for it is known to all that the law in question is a mere nullity; never having been enforced, within our knowledge. For all practical purposes, the law may as well stand as be repealed; but for the character of the State, we should like to see what we esteem an unnecessary reproach removed.—*Ohio State Journal, 10th.*

Important from Mexico.—The Mobile Advertiser publishes the following, which the editor gathers from a private letter from Pensacola. United States brig Somers had just arrived at that port from Vera Cruz, bringing the important intelligence that Gen. Arista had declared against the Paredes Government and in favor of the restoration of Herera. That throughout the country the people were organizing in opposition to the present Administration, assigning as a reason their dread of war and bloodshed, and regretting their having permitted Paredes to overthrow the Herera Administration. Mr. Slidell was still at Jalapa, with brightening prospects.

From Jamaica.—We have received, says the New Orleans Delta, of the 3d instant, per the schooner Hope, from Kingston, the Jamaica Times of the 22d ult. We find in it the following paragraph:

"*Haiti.*—A report has reached us that the view of the Americans, of taking possession of this Island, under the pretext of annexation, through negotiation with the Dominicans, has been thwarted by the acknowledgment by these people of the supremacy of Old Spain, and the surrender of their independence and of the city of St. Domingo to the Spanish squadron, which, as we noticed some time since, was lately sent thither. We are quite unable, however, to vouch for the authority or truth of this report."

Important from Cuba—Movements of Santa Anna, &c.—The Hope Howes, Captain Shaw, arrived at New Orleans on the 4 h instant, from Havana. She left there on the 29th ultimo.

Below we give a letter, says the Picayune, from our Havana correspondent. He appears to be well posted up in all that pertains to the affairs and movements of Santa Anna, and his speculations and rumors in relation to Mexican politics we give as those of one who speaks not idly and without some foundation for what he says.

HAVANA, January 28, 1846.

I have just time to drop you a few lines. I learn from an unimpeachable source that Santa Anna is making preparations to return to Mexico. He anticipates leaving here on the 9th or 10th of next month, in the British steamer for Vera Cruz. This will, however, depend much upon his advices to arrive per steamer on the 6th; but that he returns there, and that very shortly too, you may rely upon. There are other *on dits* about him that I give for what they are worth. It is said that he is much exasperated at the design of a few traitors to sell the country to foreign powers, after the wasting of so much blood and treasure to achieve independence. His return to Mexico will be marked by an entire change in his policy.

The United States, if her Minister is of the right stamp, will become his *fidus Achates*—for money he will adjust the Texan boundary, and cede California, defending himself to his countrymen upon the plea that this was the only method left to preserve the integrity of the republic, to resist the insidious attacks of foreign cabinets upon her liberties, to preserve them from a return to the Spanish yoke which they so nobly threw off, and to retain their position among the nations of the earth as an independent power.

Paredes must either side with the foreign powers or with Santa Anna. If he choose the latter, nothing can prevent the tyrant from taking the reins—if the former, nothing can resist the *grito* that Santa Anna will raise for liberty. No one that is well informed on the subject believes that the people of Mexico will be content that their country share the fate of Greece.

A colored gentleman by the name of Mason, and who claims to be the illegitimate son of ex-Governor Mason, of Virginia, lectured to a crowded house at the Baptist church last evening. His theme was the horrors of Slavery, and having been a slave himself for twenty-six years, related many touching incidents connected with his own history, and the history of his fellow-slaves. He says he was born on the plantation of Gov. Mason, that he was kept as a house servant until a son of the Governor becoming of age, he was given to the latter as a body servant, together with $25,000, and two race horses. He accompanied young Mason to New Orleans, taking the principal race courses in his route, and from thence to St. Louis, where it appears the "*ardent* young Virginian" becoming short of funds, suffered his faithful body servant to be sold at sheriff sale, to pay his hotel expenses. He was then worked as a field slave for three years, and so inhumanly treated that he ran away, and after great suffering and perseverance, reached Canada. Of course, he is an uneducated man, but reads well and can write. He exhibits considerable "*father* wit," and his discourses are calculated to excite much sympathy for his brethren in bondage.—*Cleveland Plaindealer.*

Information Wanted.—Patrick Slaneon arrived in this city from Glasgow. His wife, and nine children, arrived at Quebec in the ship Astrea, from Sligo, Ireland, in September, 1842—since that time he has had no information of them, and he is very desirous of being made acquainted with their place of residence, that he may extend to them support and protection. If they should see this notice they are requested to address a letter immediately to Isaac T. Hopper, of this city, for him.

New-York, Febuary 12th, 1846.

NOTICES.

NEW-YORK MEDICAL AND SURGICAL REPORTER.

The New-York Medical and Surgical Reporter, edited by Clarkson T Collins, M. D., No. 10, Saturday, February 21st, will contain 2 Clinical Lectures by Drs. Mott and Parker—an interesting article on Madam Restell, and some of her infamous practices, which will be read with great interest by some of our readers—Honor to Bichat—National Medical Convention to be held in New-York in May next—Medical Classes. $2 per annum, or 12 1-2 cents per single copy. Address Editor, 173 East Broadway, New-York.

CAYUGA COUNTY AWAKE!

Wm. W. Brown will lecture in Cayuga county, as follows:

At	Northville,	February	12th,
"	Smith's corners,	"	16th,
"	Sherwood's corners,	"	17th,
"	Ledyard, 4 corners,	"	18th,
"	Senate,	"	21st,
"	Cato, 4 corners,	"	23d.

The above meetings will all be holden in the evening. The friends of the slave in the above places, will please see to it that notice is given, and a place obtained to meet in. I will be there at the appointed time.

WM. W. BROWN.

HAMILTON LYCEUM.

A course of six Lectures will be delivered before the Hamilton Lyceum, at the Phœnix Hall, 592 Broadway, one door above Niblo's Garden, on various and interesting subjects, on Thursday evening of each week, commencing February 12.

The 1st Lecture by Rev. JOSEPH MORRIS, of London—subject, "Oratory and Poetry."

2. SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, Esq.—"Toussaint l'Overture."
3. Mr. S. V. BERRY—Physico-Astronomy, in connection with Natural Theology.
4. JOHN JAY, Esq.—"Moral Independence."
5. Dr. J. MCCUNE SMITH.
6. HORACE GREELY, Esq.

☞ Tickets for the Course will be afforded at the low price of 25 cents, and may be had of Messrs. John Peterson, 7 York street; Miller Pier

Poetry

From the Albany Argus.

THE PRISON CONVICT.

BY ALBERT TRACY.

A rhyme to weave! a rhyme for one
By the world forgotten long,
A noble rhyme of the son of Crime,
And his prison kept so strong.
And weave it well, that all may list,
And troll it loud and high,
With manacle link and gyve to clink
In a glorious symphony!

The convict wight, with his crown all cropt,
And his garb so quaint to see,
A merry one, in his fastiness,
With his doughty feres hath he:
Burglar and thief, and he whose hand
Hath a fadeless stain of blood,
Oh, these they are so fain to be
Of his chosen brotherhood.

From dawn till dusk, the livelong day,
How cheerily up doth come
The bu-y moil of the trade he plies,
So speechless all and dumb.
On bench, or loom, or the sounding forge,
He may choose whichever he deign;
Nor lack of time, a practice good
And a skill in his craft to gain.

A skill! aye the keepers do but heed,
And you gaudy sentinel,
Lest, seized of a wood, or sledge, or blade,
He handled for once too well.
Day in, day out—and he strives but more,
With the hum of the outer crowd,
The roll of wheels, and the laugh that come
On his toil so clear and loud.

Or say if he chance to faint sometimes,
Or to do his task seem loth,
The lash, the lash, 'tis a wondrous thing,
And quickeneth well his sloth:
And blood though it stream, and his lip shed foam,
His masters still are kind,
So soothing 'tis, the bullet they give,
In his rage to champ and grind.

Who telleth of night? and his silent cell,
And the shapes that haunt him there!
He may howl, may he not, and fright them forth,
Nor yet need the keeper care;
Nor himself, nor the guard need fear for him,
'Tis time they well should know,
Those links, less strong, those grates less firm,
He hath rent them long ago.

Week after week—but merriest yet,
At stilly Sabbath fall,
Are the tales to list, from the chapel Priest,
Of mercy and love for all:
He heareth them out, as he need must choose,
But he warms with inward glee—
Who ever heard of mercy yet,
Or love for such as he?

The squalid child, with hunger wild,
Who e'er for him hath heed?
He got his fill, as he best might do,
Or lied, or stole at need.
The lady, perchance, that gave him pence,
"Be honest now," quoth she;
How he jeered, in his haunts, at that stranger word,
And marvelled what it might be.

Fit school for him to learn of love,
The jail of his after day;
When yet had he wrought with a will like that
He bore from its walls away?
To rob, or stab, or the flame to light
No thousand men should quell—
He did but look to get hither at last,
But he earned his guerdon well.

And the iron gate, and the wall of stone,
And the scourge plied well and oft,
With the bands that callous his limbs of bone,
Shall they render his heart more soft?
They are merry, then—aye blithest of all,
The tales of that balden sage;
And he gains not his cell, but he spits, good lack!
For mirth, on his Bible page.

When Avarice ceaseth to rob the first,
When Virtue of Scorn is less,
When any but come in his earlier time,
With half such saintliness—
Then less shall they need of prison or priest,
Or the judge to read his ban,
And the wight shall tame, that knew nor hope
Nor faith in his fellow-man.

Year after year, from the world away,
The toil, and the whipman's thong;
Oh, a merry time for the son of Crime,
In his prison kept so strong!
Troll high the burden! bid dungeon deep
And cell give forth reply,
While manacle link and gyve shall clink
In a glorious symphony!

BUFFALO, February 2, 1846.

From the Watchman of the Valley.

THE SLAVE'S PRAYER.

Father of Light and Love,
Who rulest in heaven above,
Pity my grief;
And let thy grace impart,
To this grief-burdened heart,
Some kind relief.

Father, hast thou not made
Mankind of every *shade*,
Of kindred blood?
Why, then, do I thus toil,
My life and soul a spoil,
For others' good?

O, God! will it not suffice,
That men, the *slaves of vice*,
Should strike the blow?
Must people, called *thine own*,
Fill up with tears and groans
Our cups of wo?

Why am I brute-like driven,
My heart with anguish riven,
From day to day?
My wife and loved-ones sold,
Are for a tyrant's gold,
Borne far away.

Shall *Freedom's* banner bright
Wave o'er this land of light
Its stripes and stars,
While I, on *Freedom's* plains,
Clank *Slavery's* cursed chains,
And wear its scars?

, let deliverance come,
But not with fiery doom,
Like Sodom felt;
Let thy blest Gospel shine,
With light and power divine,
Each heart to melt.

My prayer to thee I make,
Thou, who didst heaven forsake,
For rebel men;
Jesus, the prison ope'
And bid the captive hope,
And smile again.

W. G. K.

WINCHESTER, Adams county.

Miscellany.

From the Liberty Bell for 1846.

PHŒBE MALLORY; THE LAST OF THE SLAVES.

BY EDMUND QUINCY.

"But when returned the youth? The youth no more
Returned exulting to his native shore;
But forty years were past, and then there came,
A worn-out man, with withered limbs and lame;
His mind oppressed with woes, and bent with age his frame."
CRABBE.

I was once a great pedestrian; and have performed feats in my time, which should entitle me to a respectable standing, if not an exalted rank, in the sporting world. I used to think little of forty miles a-day; and have "made" my six miles within the hour. But all that is over.

"It is not now as it hath been of yore!"

Walking, for its own sake, like virtue on the same terms, is but too apt to be an enthusiasm of youth. I have not, indeed, entirely subsided into the opinion which a gentleman, recently deceased, who successively distinguished himself in the gay world, at the bar and in the pulpit, once pronounced *ex cathedra*, in my hearing, that "legs are given to man only to enable him to hold on to a horse;" but still a sober ten miles satisfies me now. It will be well for me if this be the only good habit of my youth from which I have fallen away.

During my days of pedestrious grace I resided in Boston, and my walks made me tolerably familiar with the beautiful country that environs it for ten miles on every side; itself being ever the crowning charm of the land-scape. It is a great advantage Boston possesses over most other cities, that one can almost immediately exchange the bustle of the streets for some of the most lovely and rural scenes in the world. An hour's drive, or an afternoon's walk, transports you, as it were, into the heart of the country. The winding country roads, and green lanes, hedged with barberry bushes, might beguile you to believe that you were a hundred miles from a great city, were you not continually tempted to turn and see how gracefully, at airy distance, she seems to sit upon her three hills and lord it over the prospect.

One fine autumn afternoon, about ten years ago, when I had been

"Wasting in wood-paths the luxurious day,"

I found myself on the summit of one of a chain of hills, looking towards the city. And what a prospect lay before me! On my right were hills, covered with woods, clothed in the gorgeous hues of autumn, looking like troops of "shining ones," just alighted on some mission of mercy; in the middle distance, tufted groves, village spires, farm-houses, meadows dotted with cattle, and a brimming river—sparkling in the slanting rays of the sun; in the distance the city, relieved against the blue hills; and on the left the noblest burst of ocean!—Nahant breaking the expanse, with Egg Rock beyond, and then stretching leagues and leagues away, till it had put a girdle round the earth! It was a noble prospect!

After I had feasted my eyes and heart on these glorious apparitions, I was recalled to a sense of the things of earth by the reflection which was forced upon me, that I had had no dinner. I accordingly marked from my hill-top, where all the country lay mapped out at my feet, the course I would pursue on my return home. Descending the precipitous face of the hill, I plunged into

"an alley green,
With many a bosky bourne from side to side,"

which led me, though somewhat deviously, in the direction of the city. After I had followed its windings for some miles, I began to wax thirsty, and, to say sooth, a little weary to boot. So I looked about me, as I walked, for some hospitable door at which, though no saint, I might ask for a cup of cold water.

I pique myself on my skill in the physiognomy of houses, and it is not at every door, any more than of every man, that I would ask a favor. Accordingly I passed by several houses of some pretensions, but which had, to my eye, an ill-favored and ill-conditioned expression, and passed onward till I came to one that I thought might answer my purpose. It had not much to recommend it in its exterior. It was a cottage of the very humblest description, the walls of bare boards, blackened with age; but yet there was something about it that made my heart warm towards it. It stood a little withdrawn from the road, and the grass grew green up to the broad flag-stone, half sunk into the earth, which served for its door-stone. There was no litter or dirt about the door, the windows were all whole, and there was a general air of neatness about it which showed that the poverty of the inhabitant was at least not sordid.

It had a promising look, and I knocked at the door. It was opened, after a short interval, by an "old, old" woman, as black as jet, slightly bent by age, and leaning upon a staff. Though not expecting to see a person of color, I was pleased to find, that, as far as I could judge from her appearance, I had not been deceived by the lineaments of her habitation. Her dress was of the coarsest materials, but the snowy whiteness of her cap and handkerchief, and the scrupulous cleanliness of her checked gown, proved the presence of that virtue which is said, on high authority, to be akin to godliness. She received me with the kindliness and good nature which mark her race, and, upon making my necessities known, she cordially invited me to walk in. This I did, nothing loth, and while my hostess was selecting the best of her three mugs for my service, I seated myself, at her pressing instance, in one of her two flag-bottomed chairs, and took a survey of the premises.

They were rough and bare enough, God knows; but still were not without that air of comfort which thorough neatness and good order can give to the humblest dwelling. Her house could boast of but one apartment; but that was sufficient for her purposes. A bed, two chairs, an invalided table, and a pine chest, made up the sum of her furniture. The walls could boast of no decoration except a print, over the head of the bed, of the capture of Andre, in which the cow-boy militiamen were looking most truculently virtuous as Andre tempted their Roman firmness with a watch of the size of a small warming-pan. The floor was well scrubbed and sanded, and some peat embers smouldered upon the hearth. After I had slaked my thirst with some delicious water, of which she was justly proud,—all cold and sparkling from the open well, ministered unto by the picturesque puritanic well-pole,—she resumed her chair and her knitting; and, as I rested myself, I entered into conversation with her.

She seemed pleased with the interest I felt in her affairs, and simply and frankly told me all she had to tell about herself and her way of life. She had lived on that spot for many years, and had mainly depended upon her skill as a laundress for her subsistence. As she had grown old, however, and the infirmities of age began to press heavily upon her, she confined herself to the nicer branches of her profession; for the exercise of which the ladies of the neighborhood supplied her with ample materials. Whatever deficiency there might be in her means of comfort, after she had done her best to provide them, was cheerfully made up to her by the kindness of her neighbors. For, to do them justice, neglect of the poor, black or white, at their own doors, is not one of the vices of the people of New England. She seemed to be very well satisfied with her share of the good things of this life, and evinced a degree of unaffected contentment which is not always seen to accompany a much higher degree of prosperity. I was greatly interested in her character and history, and never walked in that direction again without calling to see her. In the course of my acquaintance with her, I learned, at different times, the simple incidents of her story, which I am about to relate. They seemed to me, when I heard them, to be worth the telling; but I am by no means sure that anybody else will be of the same opinion. Such as they are, however, you have them here.

* * * * * *

Phœbe was born somewhere about the middle of the last century, in the family of the Honorable James Mallory, for many years one of His Majesty's Council for the Province of Massachusetts Bay. He used to live in that fine old house with the Corinthian pilasters, and the magnificent lime trees in the court-yard, which stood on your left hand as you went down King street towards Long Wharf. It vanished years ago, and gave place to one of the granite temples of Mammon which have long since thrust from their neighborhood all human habitation. There was Phœbe born. Her father and mother were both of them native Africans, who had lived out all their life of servitude under the roof of Mr. Mallory. They were fortunate in falling into such good hands. The few New England slaves were mostly owned by the wealthy families, and were, chiefly employed as house-servants, and their treatment was at least as good as that of the same class in any country. But, Phœbe said, nothing could prevent her father from remembering the day, when, as he was hunting the hippopotamus in the sacred river that flowed by his hut, just as he leaped from his iron-wood canoe to draw the monster ashore by the line fastened to his spear, a party, of a hostile tribe, rushed from among the reeds and hurried him to the sea-coast, fifty miles away, and there sold him to a Bristol trader. To be sure he had obtained civilization and Christianity by his involuntary emigration; but as the one appeared to his half-savage mind to consist in wearing clothes and cleaning another man's shoes, and the other in sleeping on his knees through family prayers, and in being obliged to listen, from the gallery of the Old South Church, for several hours every Sunday, to sermons which he could never have comprehended, delivered in a tongue he very imperfectly understood, he must not be blamed as ungrateful if he thought them but inadequate compensations for the exchange he had made of the sunny skies and golden sands of Africa for the leaden firmament and rocky coast of New England.

Phœbe was more fortunate than her parents in being "native, and to the manner born;" so that her lot was much more tolerable than theirs. She was kindly treated, and taught to read and write. She felt all the strong attachment of the African race to the house in which she was born, and to the family which had brought her up. To the end of her days she believed that there was never a house that equalled in magnificence that of Mr. Mallory, in King street. There was never anything half so graceful and dignified as the manners of Mr. Mallory himself, or half so beautiful and accomplished as the daughters, or so hand-some and good-natured as the sons, of his house. Many were the old-world stories she told me of the loves and the feuds of that generation,—of their joys and their griefs, of their festivities and their funerals. A petted slave, brought up from infancy in one of the foremost families of a small community, such as Boston was then, she became a perfect incarnation of all the gossip and scandal of that little world. And some very choice bits of both I extracted from her, I assure you. She, certainly, had no artistic skill in her narrations, and yet there was a life in the very simplicity with which she related facts, which painted them vividly to the mind's eye; and, I think, I have a clearer notion of the way in which people lived in Boston eighty years since, from them, than from more generally recognized authorities.

Her admiration, however, was not entirely monopolized by the higher powers of the family. There was a certain Ambrose, who had also been born in the house a few years before Phœbe, and had been brought up along with her, who claimed his share. They had played together as children, and worked together when they grew older, and it will not surprise the experienced reader to hear that they fell in love with each other as soon as they were old enough to take the infection. Ambrose was a fine, well-made, athletic young fellow, shrewd and capable, and of the most imperturbable good humor. His skill in music was such that he was often summoned to the parlor, with his violin, to excite the dance, when his young masters and mistresses had their friends with them. Both Ambrose and Phœbe were great favorites with the whole family, old and young, bond and free, and their loves were looked upon by all with complacent eyes. They formed a little under-plot in the domestic drama, which was not unamusing or uninteresting to the actors, or actresses, in similar scenes, above stairs. Their true love flowed smoothly on, and it seemed as if no obstacles could be interposed to disturb its course. It was a conceded thing, that, at some convenient season, Ambrose and Phœbe were to be married.

While the affairs of the humble lovers were in this prosperous train, great events were at the door. The signs which prognosticate a coming storm were frequent and menacing. Voices were heard in the air telling of disaster and woe to come. Portents were seen in the political firmament,

"with fear of change,
Perplexing monarchs."

It was obvious to all discerning persons, who were willing to see, that great changes were at hand. Mr Mallory was a tory, as might be expected from his official station and position in society. Like many others of his way of thinking, he exaggerated the power of the British King to suppress disaffection, and undervalued the powers of resistance of the colonists. Though he had never permitted himself to doubt that the fever-fit of the province would soon pass away, still he was seriously disagreeable while it lasted. He had made himself obnoxious to the popular party, and his situation was at times worse than disagreeable,—it was absolutely unsafe. Phœbe described to me the night when the mob, flushed by the impunity which had attended their previous excesses, came trooping down King street to execute summary justice on the tory Mallory. Their approach was so sudden that the family had barely time to escape, as they were through the garden, leaving the candles burning, and the work-boxes and books open on the table, as they fled.

Mr. Mallory's house would probably have shared the fate of Governor Hutchinson's, had it not been for a singular and unexpected diversion. When the mob were gathering in the street in front of the house, and preparing for the assault, the hall door opened suddenly, and Ambrose, like a new Orpheus, issued from it with his violin in his hand. He immediately struck up a lively air, and the effect was magical. The many-headed monster was in a better humor than usual that night. Whether it was that the edge of its appetite was in some degree taken off by the sop it had already had, or whether it was that the patriotic punch (which has never yet had its due as one of the main promoters of the Revolution) had not yet more than half done its work, still the mood of the mob was changed at once from mischief to fun. This unexpected apparition moved their mirth, and Ambrose, taking advantage of their humor, performed such antic tricks in the moonlight as threw them into inextinguishable fits of laughter. With all the caprice of a mob, they soon began to dance, themselves, to his music and not all the influence of their leaders could bring them up again to the point of mischief:

"So Orpheus fiddled and so danced the brutes!"

This danger over, the arrival of the British regiments prevented any apprehension of its renewal. But the situation of the Mallories was gloomy and uncomfortable enough. The gayeties, which the arrival of the forces produced, in the loyal circles, were no compensation for the breaking up of old friendships, and for the doubt and uncertainty that hung over their future. At last the provincial resistance began to assume a more threatening form. The siege clasped the town around with its iron arms. The beautiful hills which encompass the town were now changed into mimic volcanoes, belching forth fire and smoke and death against it. All who could, and dared, fled from its borders. Mr. Mallory's political offences were too flagrant to allow him any choice. He was obliged to abide by the result of the conflict where he was. To be sure, neither he nor his children would ever admit, even to themselves, the probability of the rebels being ultimately successful; but then there could not but be painful misgivings as to what might befal before the insurrection was finally quelled. It was a dismal winter, indeed, as Phœbe told its private history. No all the balls and assemblies and private theatricals that were devised to while away the weary hours, could dispel the sense of pain and apprehension which their situation excited in the breasts of the loyalists.

It was not long before the forebodings of their prophetic hearts were fulfilled. The dreary winter wore away and the dreary spring began. The intentions of the commander-in-chief were kept strictly secret; but there were plenty of surmises abroad as to what they were. But that Boston, open as it was to the sea, of which England was the mistress, would be occupied by the British forces until the rebellion was suppressed, was a thing that had settled down into a recognized certainty. It could not enter into a loyal heart to conceive that the royal troops could be dislodged from the capital of New England by the rabble-rout that surrounded them. But at last the fatal news fell upon their ears like a clap of thunder, that the town was to be evacuated and abandoned to the besiegers! What distress and despair of those who had placed themselves and all they had under the protection of the British sceptre and who found it powerless in their utmost need! All remonstrance on their part was in vain. General Howe was inflexible, for he knew that his post was no longer tenable; but he assured the distressed loyalists of all possible assistance in removing their persons and effects beyond the reach of the exasperated rebels.

Phœbe described to me with life-like effect, for it was what she had the most to do with, the confusion of the few days that elapsed between the announcement of the intended evacuation and the embarkation. The grief of the Mallories at leaving the home of their childhood, perhaps forever, and the uncertainty which hung over their future fate, was disturbed by the necessity of deciding which of their effects they should take with them. A limited amount of freight was all that could be possibly assigned to each refugee, and it was hard to decide among all the objects which habit had rendered necessary or association dear, which should be chosen and which abandoned. All was hurry and bustle and distress. They were obliged to select such articles as contained the most value in the compactest form, and to leave the rest behind. Their clothes, plate, jewels, and such other valuables as they could compress into the smallest possible space were all that they could take with them. But all the old companion furniture, speaking to them of ancestry and of happier days, the family pictures, the trifles which affection magnified into things of moment, because they were seen through the atmosphere of love and friendship which surrounded them, all, all had to be left behind them.

It was a dreadful night, that of the 17th of March, 1776, the last that they were to spend in the home of their fathers. Early the next morning they were to embark on board the transports, to go they knew not whither. The young ladies, deprived of their usual employments, and their recent mournful occupation being over, as the trunks and packing-cases were already on board, wandered about the house, from room to room, like ghosts haunting scenes once loved, reluctant to look their last upon those beloved walls. The gentlemen of the family were busy in making what arrangements they could to secure the wrecks of their property. It was long past midnight before they retired to rest, if rest they could, for the last time under that old-accustomed roof. They had not been long retired, however, when they were aroused again by a clamorous knocking at the door, and the intelligence that they must repair at once on board ship, if they would not be left behind. The rebels had taken up a position on Nook's Hill which rendered it necessary to evacuate the town at an earlier hour than the one first appointed. The confusion may be imagined. The carriage was at length at the door, and performed its last service, in conveying the family to the wharf, before it passed into the hands of the patriotic gentleman who had purchased it at a fourth of its value. They found, with some difficulty, the transport assigned to them, and, embarking, awaited the signal of departure.

While they were thus expecting their sailing orders, one of the young ladies discovered that, in her hurry, she had left her watch behind her. It had a value beyond its intrinsic worth, as having belonged to her mother. Her distress was great, and the question arose whether there was time to send for it. The captain of the transport gave it as his opinion that there would be ample time. Then, who was to be the messenger? Ambrose could not be spared from some essential service in the arrangement of the luggage; so Phœbe alone remained to perform the errand. She was accordingly despatched, with strict injunctions to make a speedy return. It was a raw, blustering March morning, and as Phœbe threaded the narrow streets the light snow was blown in fitful gusts in her face. She made a somewhat wide circuit to avoid the principal streets, which were now full of soldiers, the inhabitants being under orders to keep within doors until a certain hour. She had some difficulty, too, in procuring the house-key from the neighbor who had charge of it; and when at last she obtained entrance, it was still dark, and she had to strike a light in order to commence her search. Everything seemed to conspire to delay her return to the ship. And after she had procured a candle, the object of her search was not to be found. She looked for it in every place where it should and where it should not be, but without success. This consumed many precious moments. At last she abandoned the matter in despair, thinking that her young mistress must have the watch about her, after all, or else it had been dropped on the way to the ship. After securing the house again, she made what haste she could to the wharf. But what was her amazement and despair at seeing no sign remaining of the good ship on board of which all her treasures were embarked!

She could not at first believe her eyes, and she stood for some time in mute astonishment. But, before long, her mind received a distinct impression of the dreadful truth, and she made the air resound with her shrieks and lamentations. She flew distractedly up and down the wharf, imploring to be taken on board some of the transports destined for the same port, but no one had any leisure to attend to her. It was in the height of the hurry of the embarkation, and ship after ship was dropping down with the tide and making what haste they might to Nantasket roads. Almost immediately after Phœbe had left the ship, orders came down directing her to get underweigh directly, and she was already out of sight. She remained on the wharf in a state but little removed from distraction, renewing her entreaties to all she met for assistance in regaining her master's party. But all the reply she received was curses, and orders to mind her own business and to get out of the way. Exhausted at length by her exertions, and finding there was no hope for her, she returned, in agony of mind, to the deserted house in King street. There, in solitude and despair, flung upon her face on the nearest sofa, she lay for hours weeping as one that refused to be comforted. The merry peals of the bells, and the distant sound of military music, might have told her that General Washington and his victorious army were making their triumphal entry into the town; but she neither heard nor heeded them. Her heart and her eyes were following the stout ship which was bearing away from her, probably forever, the friends of her childhood and the lover of her youth.

In this state she continued for four-and-twenty successive hours. But after the first paroxysm of grief and despair had exhausted itself, Phœbe was not of a nature to abandon herself to fruitless repinings. It was fortunate for her that it was necessary to take some immediate measures for her own support. For the poor girl was now in a singularly unfortunate predicament. She absolutely belonged to nobody. The imperfect legislation of those primitive days had not provided for such a case of destitution. Had she had the luck to live in these times, in the Southern States, such an anomaly could not have occurred. There, the abeyance of the abandoned property in herself would have been terminated in favor of the fortunate finder; or, a worst, it would have resulted to the State. But in those days, before political economy, she was suffered to escheat to herself! And so she had nobody to take care of her! Thanks, however, to the thorough breeding she had received in Mr. Mallory's house, she was able to command at once her choice of the best services in the town; and she was soon as comfortably situated as she could be under her unhappy circumstances.

The long years of the war, of course, cut off all definite intelligence of the Mallories, and of Ambrose. And the longer years of the peace, which followed it, brought little more satisfactory information about them. All that was certain was, that Mr. Mallory had been provided for by an appointment in Antigua, and it was taken for granted that he had proceeded thither with his family. The humble Ambrose of course had no share in these imperfect advices, and Phœbe was left to guess at his fate as best she might. The Mallories left no relatives behind them in the province, and all interest in them or their affairs soon died away. There was but one humble heart—Phœbe's—in which they occupied all the room that was not before engrossed by Ambrose, their slave.

Meanwhile, more than thirty years rolled away since the emigration. Phœbe was become a prosperous woman. She had been for some years retired from service, and had invested her earnings in a small confectioner's shop, which was well frequented by those who respected the excellence of her character and of her pastry. She had never married—though not unsought—but still remained constant to the memory of Ambrose; though she had for many years abandoned all hope of ever seeing or hearing of him again.

One afternoon as she was sitting, sewing, behind her counter, a man entered her shop. His dress was sordid and travel-stained, and he walked with difficulty, supported by a rough stick. He stood with his back to the light, so that Phœbe could not see his features distinctly. He stood and gazed long and earnestly in her face. She grew alarmed, and asked his business. In the act of replying he shifted his position so that the setting sun shone full upon him. She started from her seat, shrieked, and fell senseless upon the floor.

"I dropped," to use her own words, "as if I was shot!" It was Ambrose himself, come in the flesh to claim her at last. Happily joy is not a mortal disease, or Phœbe might not have survived to tell me her story. Water was at hand, and she soon opened her eyes upon the face of him whom she had loved so long and well. It was changed indeed. Years of slavery had not passed over his head without leaving furrows on the brow and wrinkles on the cheek. But still it was *his* face, and that was all she asked. Time and ill usage had grizzled his hair and bent his broad shoulders; but to her eyes he was still young,—for she saw him with the eyes of her heart.

It would be hard to say whether pleasure or pain predominated in that first interview. But it was not long before they knew that they were happy. Phœbe took Ambrose to her house, fed, clothed, and nursed him; and finally married him. And though their union was late, and did not continue long, it was as happy a marriage as ever knit two hearts in one.

The story of Ambrose, when he was able to tell it, was simple and common enough. He had followed his master from Halifax to London, and from London to Antigua. There Mr. Mallory died. The young ladies married, and returned to England, and the sons took to bad courses, and died not long after their father. Ambrose was taken in execution for a debt of the last of them, and sold to a Jamaica planter. In Jamaica he suffered for many years the horrors of sugar-making, aggravated by the contrast of the easy service of his previous life. A few months before, he was sent to Kingston with a load of sugar, and finding a vessel on the point of sailing for New-York, he concealed himself on board, and succeeded in effecting his escape. Arrived in New-York he begged his way to Boston, being detained on the road by a fever caused by the sudden change of climate, and arrived foot-sore, weary and sick at heart, little expecting the happiness that awaited him.

Before long Ambrose grew weary of the town, and as his health had never been good since his return home, Phœbe sold her shop and bought the cottage in which I found her. Here they supported themselves comfortably enough for the few years that Ambrose lived. But the hard winters of New England were too much for the constitution of one so long accustomed to the climate of the tropics. He died of a consumption, lovingly watched over and tenderly mourned by his faithful Phœbe.

* * * * * * *

Such is a plain narrative of the incidents of her life, which I gathered from Phœbe Mallory in the course of my acquaintance with her. I think that they might have been invested with a good deal of romantic interest, had they fallen into the right hands. But such as I have I give unto you.

Phœbe always averred that she was the last surviving slave in the State; and as I could not contradict her, I was willing to believe that it was so. I confess it increased my interest in her, and made me look upon her in some sort as an historical character. And I could not but think of the day when the last American slave will excite a feeling in the breast of some future inquirer, somewhat analogous to that created by the sight of the last mouldering fragment of the Bastile. May that day soon arrive!

Several years ago I removed from the city, and lost sight of poor Phœbe. Not long since, having a leisure day in town, I felt suddenly moved to go and see if she were yet alive. Yielding to the impulse, I took the well remembered road that led by her hut. But it had vanished away, and in its place stood a fine Gothic cottage, with an Egyptian entablature at one end supported by four fluted Doric pillars. I knew at the first glance that it would be of no avail to inquire after my old friend at such a structure as this. So I continued my stroll till I came to the village about two miles off. There I inquired of the first man I happened to meet, whether he knew anything of the fate of Phœbe Mallory. I was in luck in my man; for he chanced to be none other than good master Sexton himself. With the cheerful solemnity which marks his calling, he informed me that she had died about three years before and was buried in the church-yard over against which we stood. I asked him to show me her grave, which he did with professional alacrity. It is the third grave beyond the elm-tree, on your right hand, as you enter the gate, next the wall.

I could not but feel a sense of satisfaction, mingled with regret, at the loss of my good old friend, to think that the last relic of Massachusetts' slavery lay buried beneath my feet. I felt proud of my native State for what she had done, as a State, to mark her aversion to Slavery. And I hoped that the time was not far distant when she would brush aside the cobweb ties which prevent her from telling the hunter of men, in yet more emphatic tones, that her fields are no hunting-grounds for him.

I have no taste for monumental memorials, as a general thing. At least, I see no fitness in attempting to preserve the memory of mediocrity or obscurity, by monuments whose very permanence is a satire on the forgotten names they bear. But I have no quarrel with the feeling which prompts men to mark with marble the ground where the truly great repose; or to record the resting-place of humbler merit, when it is fairly invested with some just historic interest. Of this latter class I esteem the grave of Phœbe Mallory. And I shall think it neither absurd nor extravagant, if, within a few months, a plain white marble slab should be found marking the spot where she lies, with an inscription somewhat to this effect:—

"HERE RESTS FROM HER LABORS,
BENEATH THE FREE SOIL OF MASSACHUSETTS,
Phœbe Mallory,
THE LAST SURVIVOR OF HER SLAVES!"

DEDHAM, (Mass.) November 1845.

From the Inverness Courier.

A GENUINE PHILANTHROPIST.

The island of Rona is a small and very rocky spot of land, lying between the Isle of Skye and the main land of Applecross, and is well known to mariners for the rugged and dangerous nature of the coast.—There is a famous place of refuge at the north-western extremity, called the "Muckle harbor," of very difficult access however, which, strange to say, is easier entered at night than during the day. At the extremity of this hyperborean solitude is the residence of a poor widow, whose lonely cottage is called the "lighthouse," from the fact, that she uniformly keeps a lamp burning in her little window at night. By keeping this light and the entrance of the harbor open, a strange vessel may enter with the greatest safety. During the silent watches of the night the widow may be seen, like "Nora of the Pitiful Head," trimming her little lamp with oil, being fearful that some misguided and frail bark may perish through her neglect; and for this she receives no manner of remuneration—it is pure unmingled philanthropy. The poor woman's kindness does not rest even there, for she is unhappy until the benumbed and shivering mariner comes ashore to share her little board, and recruit himself at her glowing and cheerful fire, and she can be seldom prevailed upon to take any reward. She has saved more lives than Davy's belt, and thousands of pounds to the underwriters. This poor creature, in her young days, witnessed her husband struggling with the waves, and swallowed up by the remorseless billows—

"In sight of home and friends who thronged to save."

This circumstance seems to have prompted her present devoted and solitary life, in which her only enjoyment is in doing good.

From Douglass Jerrold's Shilling Magazine.

GUNPOWDER AND GLORY.

I'd almost forgotten to say that the King of the Dutch has been on a visit to us,—and as I've heard, a very decent fellow he is. Of course he played, while here, a little bit of soldiering,—guards and grenadiers were turned out in the Hyde Park, that he might review their helmets and bear-skin caps. Is n't it odd, grandmother, that the first show kings and princes, when they come to us, want to stare at, is a show of soldiers? Just to see how nicely men are armed and mounted to kill men! They don't mean any harm by it, of course; but still.—I can't help thinking it,—it does appear to me, if Beelzebub was to go into a strange country,—if, indeed, there is any country he's not yet visited,—the sight he'd first like to see, would be, the sight of men taught the best way of cutting men's throats. And then (if he came here to London), he'd go down to Woolwich Marshes, to see what they call rocket practice. And would n't he rub his hands, and switch about his tail, to see how rockets and shells split, break, tear away all before 'em; showing what pretty work they'd make of a square of human flesh, standing for so many pence a day, to be made a target of? You'd think it would be some wicked spirit that would enjoy this fun; but no, grandmother, it is n't so; quite the contrary; it's kings and princes. And yet I should like to have some king come over here, who would n't like to go a soldiering in Hyde Park; who would n't think of rocket-practice; but who, on the contrary, would go about to our schools, and our hospitals, and our asylums, and all places where man does what he can to help man; to assist and comfort him like a fellow-creature, and not to tear him limb from limb like a devil.

Our Queen has gone to Germany, to see where Prince Albert was born. Well, there's something pretty and wife-like in the thought of this, and I like it. There was a dreadful fear among some of the nobs in Parliament that while the Queen was away the kingdom would drop to pieces. But it is n't so: the tax gatherer comes, just the same as ever. The Queen took ship, and landed at Antwerp,—at the Ruai Vandyke. Now Vandyke, you must know, was a famous painter; and abroad, they've a fashion of naming streets and places after folks that's called geniuses. We have n't come to that yet. Only think of having a Hogarth-square or a Shakspeare instead of a Waterloo, Bridge! And then for statues in the streets, we don't give them to authors and painters, but only to kings and dukes that don't pay their debts.

Still I do feel for her Gracious Majesty. Dear soul! Is n't it dreadful that a gentlewoman can't step abroad,—can't take a boat,—but what there's a hundred guns blazing, firing away at her—as if the noise of cannon and the smell of gunpowder was like the songs of the nightingales and the scent of roses! How royalty keeps its hearing I can't tell. When the dear lady got upon the Rhine, there were the guns blazing away as though heaven and earth were coming together! It's odd enough that people will think a great noise is a great respect; and that the heartiest welcome can only be given by gunpowder.

THE CONSISTENT NEGRO.

The leaven is still at work among all classes of people. In proof of this, permit me to record an occurrence that took place not long since. A gentleman cooper called upon a negro, who owns a fine farm in this neighborhood, and wished to purchase some stave timber. Our "colored" friend inquired for what purpose he wanted it. He received, for answer, "I have a contract for so many whisky barrels."

"*Well, Sir*," was the prompt reply, "*I have the timber to sell and want the money*, but no man can purchase a single stave or hoop-pole, or a particle of grain of me for that purpose."

Of course Mr. Cooper was not a little "up in the back" to meet such stern reproof—got mad, and contemptuously made up mouths at him, and called him a "nigger." (Smart.)

"That is very true," mildly replied "darkie." It is my misfortune to be a negro; I can't help *that*, but I *can* help selling my timber to make whisky barrels, and I *mean to do it*."

Aint that too good to be lost? Pass it round from pole to pole. "Do you hear that, boys?" Mr. Editor, I have had no temptation to exaggerate; but have simply recorded the facts as given me from an unquestionable source. I knew the colored man well. The Ethiopian shall rise up in the day of judgment against some of the men of this generation, in reference to this great moral and benevolent enterprise.—*Ohio Temp. Organ.*

Bad Ventilation; its Injurious Effect on the Mind.—Bad ventilation, also, is as injurious to the mind as to the body, and in its more aggravated forms not only induces headache and apoplexy, but, conjoined with other circumstances, is prone to favor that depression which leads at times to low spirits, or even to suicide. Vitiated air from lamps and candles, as well as from respiration, tends to ascend, though, as projected from the nostrils and mouth, it moves, at first, more or less downwards, or in a horizontal direction. In experiments made on this subject, the temperature of air from different individuals placed in a box lined with cotton, and open above and below, was found to be generally four degrees higher above the head than below the feet (the box was suspended in the air); and, at natural temperatures, a current constantly ascended on every side from the person. Thus, then, it is obvious, that if the natural movements of vitiated air in ordinary apartments be facilitated by one opening at the lower part, and another above, every room will ventilate itself sufficiently to prevent the more extreme effects that are so often observed at present. If the lower opening be diffused by extending it along the skirting, the current becomes more mild and equal, and less liable to strike upon the person, so as to produce an offensive draught. If the upper aperture be led into a chimney-flue, or into an independent flue warmed by its near position to a hot chimney, its action is more powerful and more uniform than a mere aperture in the wall near the ceiling, and not so subject to modification in windy weather. If it communicate with a powerful chimney-flue, it works still better, except when the fire declines, or the supply of fresh air is interrupted, a dangerous recoil taking place, and the upper aperture discharging smoke into the apartment; this defect may be obviated to a great extent, though not entirely, by the use of valves, unless they be regulated and adapted from time to time according to the varying circumstances of the case.—*The Builder.*

NEW LEBANON SPRINGS WATER-CURE ESTABLISHMENT.

IN this place, so long celebrated for the beauty of its scenery, purity of the air, and utility of the water, is now instituted a WATER-CURE INFIRMARY; which, from the above considerations, promises to be of the greatest importance to the afflicted, and to persons wishing to spend a season in the country for the purpose of recruiting the energies of the system, after a time of illness or hard labor. The beauty of the scenery and salubrity of the air, is not often excelled in any country. The water is abundant and of all temperatures, from ice cold to 72 degrees Fahrenheit Ther. The mountain springs have been tested by the celebrated chemists, Dr. Chilton, of New-York, and Professor Avery, of Hamilton College, and pronounced perfectly pure and soft. The various baths, as PLUNGE, SHOWER, DOUCHE, HOSE, FOUNTAIN, EYE & EAR, COLD or WARM, are so constructed, as to be comfortable, inviting, and easy of access by invalids at all times. The rooms are so warmed as to render them perfectly comfortable even in the coldest weather. Persons afflicted with either acute or chronic diseases, have much to induce them to visit this establishment. The water treatment has been particularly successful in the following complaints: Rheumatism, either acute or chronic, Gout, incipient stages of Consumption, Dispepsia or Indigestion, with its train of symptoms, as Headache, Constipation, Liver Complaint, Jaundice, &c. It removes nervous affections, and the various forms of Fever, as Typhus, Billious, and Intermitting. It acts like a charm in all eruptive diseases, as Small-pox, Measles, Scarlet Fever, &c. All scrofulous complaints, and diseases arising from impurities of the blood, tumors, ulcers, fever sores, and boils, are more successfully treated by water than by any system of medicine.

The diet and regimen of patients are strictly attended to, which alone, in most cases of chronic disease, is far better for the patient than any system of drug medication. Suitable medical examination and advice constantly in attendance at the establishment, who will give strict attention to the patients, and point out all necessary changes to facilitate the cure.

Those who feel competent to treat their own cases at home, and want an examination and prescription, can have it at a reasonable expense.

The inhabitants of this vicinity are particularly notified that they can have medical advice and attention at their own houses, in all acute or chronic diseases, where it is not practical to come to the establishment.

One important item to the afflicted is, that the water-cure patients are never left to groan out a miserable life from the ill effects of mineral or vegetable poisons.

The expense, per week, is from $5 to $8, including board, medical advice, and